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The Structure of Russian in Outline

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To my wife,
Natascha Bidwell,
née Dragutinović

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Preface

Reference grammars of Russian abound, both in Russian and in English or other Western languages. Further, there is a vast amount of periodical and monographic literature treating one or another aspect or segment of Russian grammar from the point of view of the various schools of structural linguistics. There has never appeared, however, a consistent and comprehensive structural treatment of Russian grammar, at least in the sense that this is understood in the American descriptivist tradition. I hope that the present structural sketch may at least partially fill this gap and serve American students as a structurally oriented reference grammar and as a text for courses in the structure of the Russian language.

The basic research underlying this work was to a considerable extent accomplished by me in connection with a project involving the preparation of Russian teaching materials (published as *Modern Russian*, Vol. I, 1964, Vol. II, 1965, by Harcourt, Brace and World), sponsored by the United States Office of Education. Certain sections of this work represent revisions of materials originally prepared to be part of a projected grammatical appendix, but never actually used. The materials of the present volume have been tested and subjected to further revision in my course, "Russian as a Linguistic Structure," at the University of Pittsburgh. As presented in my classes, the materials were issued as pre-prints, not for general distribution, under the titles *An Outline of Russian Morphology* and *An Outline of Russian Syntax* (Pittsburgh, 1962 and 1963 respectively).

The present work, like all Gaul, is divided into three parts. The first, "The Sound System," gives an outline of Russian phonology and morphophonemics. Since a number of treatments of Russian phonetics and phonemics are readily available, this chapter does

not go into great detail in phonetic description or give extensive lists of phonemic contrasts (except in connection with such controversial matters as the status of [i] and [ɨ] or of the palatalized velars, where I support my solution with example contrasts), nor do I give an exhaustive treatment of morphophonemics, but list only those alternations which are widespread in the morphology and necessary to a discussion thereof. It goes without saying that the language is here treated as primarily and basically a spoken phenomenon and that the grammatical description is based solidly on the spoken forms. Equally obvious, of course, is the fact that in dealing with a language with a long written tradition, such as Russian, one cannot ignore the writing system, particularly as example words in further discussion are usually cited in conventional orthography. Pedagogical considerations have dictated the unconventional expedient of inserting the discussion of the correspondence of the writing system to the spoken language between discussion of automatic and non-automatic morphophonemic change (because automatic changes are typically not represented in conventional spelling, while non-automatic changes usually are).

The phonemic analysis and the morphophonemic notation based upon it is that presented in my article in *SEEJ* (cited below). While I believe that my alternative analysis is well justified by the linguistic facts, I recognize that many colleagues, particularly the more conservative-minded, will find it controversial. However, the notation I have chosen is such that my representation of consonant plus palatalization component /t, / can be converted to a representation in traditional terms, if one simply imagines the palatalization symbol as connected with the preceding consonant and representing a palatalized phoneme /t̚/ vs. /t/. Those who prefer that analysis will find they can use my sections on morphology and syntax perfectly well in class, as well as most of the phonology and morphophonemics.

In my preprints I used a morphophonemic notation employing Cyrillic symbols, as outlined in my *SEEJ* article. Though such a notation entails certain advantages, particularly as it points up the internal logic of the Russian orthography, I found that some students were misled, despite explicit warning, into confusing speech and writing; hence, I reluctantly abandoned my Cyrillic notation and have adopted a Latin character notation for morphophonemics.

The second part, "The Form System," on the other hand, treats the morphology exhaustively. The analysis is uncompromisingly structural (thus certain items traditionally termed "pronouns" are classified with the adjectives) and presents a number of original features.

The third part, "Sentence Structure," is a fairly complete overview (within the present state of our knowledge) of Russian syntax. This chapter, which represents the application to Russian of the Harrisian type analysis I employed in my articles on the syntax of Serbo-Croatian (*Language* 41) and of Bulgarian (*Linguistics* 29 [1967]), departs most widely from previous traditional treatments of Russian syntax, and may, perhaps, lay most claim to originality.

As stated, this work is intended primarily for the use of students of Russian and Slavistics, both as a textbook or manual in a course on Russian linguistic structure and also as a reference grammar organized on strictly structural principles. It is also hoped that it may prove of value to professional linguists, particularly those who are not specialists in Slavic but who may wish to gain an overview of Russian linguistic structure. The book assumes on the part of the user a firm control of the basic concepts of modern linguistics (e.g., the phoneme, the morpheme, complementary distribution, morphophonemic change, etc.), since it is taken for granted that in this day and age anyone with a serious interest in a language or languages will have acquainted himself with at least the rudiments of structural linguistics.

The following works have been consulted in preparation of the material found in this book:

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 Словарь современного русского литературного языка, Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1950-1965.

Finally, I want to thank the many native speakers who have wittingly or unwittingly served as linguistic informants over the years of my study of Russian as well as my teachers and senior colleagues. Here I would particularly mention George L. Trager who during my employment at the Foreign Service Institute was my mentor in the scientific study of Russian.

The entire Russian portion of the text was read by Mr. Nicholas Koehler, who suggested a number of orthographic and stylistic corrections. Any errors are, of course, not the fault of colleagues, associates, or informants, but strictly my own.

The Structure of Russian in Outline

The Sound System

1.1 THE BASIC SOUND UNITS (PHONEMES)

1.1.1 Consonants

The following consonant phonemes occur. They are listed below in terms of their phonetic characteristics (where pairs are listed under the same rubric, the first is voiceless, the second voiced).

	labial		apico-dental ^a		post-alveolar ^b		dorso-velar ^c	
stops	p	b	t	d			k	g
nasals ^d		m		n				
affricates			c		č			
spirants	f	v	s	z	š	ž	x	
lateral:	l		trill:	r	glide:	j		

^atip of tongue toward back surface of upper teeth; ^bat upper gum ridge; ^cback of tongue against soft palate; ^dvoiced nasal stops

Of the labial sounds, /p b m/ are made with closure of both lips, while /f v/ involve approaching the back of the lower lip to the front of the upper teeth. In the latter case, the sharp deflection of the air stream against the upper lip thereby occasioned results in characteristic turbulence.

The apico-dental sounds /t d n/ are made by contacting the back surface of the upper teeth with the tongue tip; contact is thus made further forward than in the corresponding English sounds. In /c/ contact is made at about the position of English /t/. In /s z/ there is a narrow passage between tip and front of the tongue and back of upper teeth and gums respectively.

Of the post-alveolar sounds, /č/ involves contact of the front of the tongue with the upper gum ridge; /š ž/ involve contact of the tip of the tongue further back on the upper gums, the tongue flattened and slightly retracted. The voiceless stops /p t k/ do not have the aspiration (puff of air) which often occurs after the corresponding English sounds. /x/ is similar to the German *ch* in German "ach" but with rather less friction; it is phonetically voiceless, except preceding a distinctively voiced consonant other than /v/.

/l/ is a lateral fricative, usually voiced, with mid-tongue depressed, resulting in "dull," "hollow" sound or low tonality, something like /l/ in English "bull." Contact is with the tip of the tongue against upper teeth or gum ridge. /r/ is an apico-alveolar trill, usually with one or two flaps of the tongue and usually voiced. /j/ is a high front glide. The forward part of the tongue is arched toward the roof of the mouth resulting in a certain tenseness and friction.¹

1.1.2 Palatalization

In addition to the foregoing consonants, there exists a palatalized counterpart to each of them except /š ž ɕ č j/. The palatalized consonants are articulated with the tongue rather tensely arched up and forward in the mouth and with the pharyngeal passage dilated (widened). In some consonants, particularly labials, this gives the effect of a very brief [i̯]-like glide (distinct however from the same consonant followed by the phoneme /j/); this glide is most noticeable before /a o u/, and least noticeable before /i/. With /l/, palatalization causes the tongue to be tensely arched and contact to be made by the front of the tongue against the upper gum ridge, giving a characteristic "bright" sound or high tonality (however, Russian palatalized /l/ is not as palatal as the palatal /l'/ of Spanish, Italian, or Serbo-Croatian); in apical sounds /t d n/, palatalization causes the point of contact to be shifted backward to the front blade of the tongue and upper gum ridge; some speakers slightly assibilate palatalized /t d/, giving [tʰs dʰz]. Likewise, the front spirants /s z/ with palatalization shift their point of articulation slightly backward; conversely, the arching forward of the tongue involved in palatalization causes the velar sounds to be articulated further forward in the mouth than is the case in the absence of palatalization.

Palatalized consonants are here analyzed as the corresponding plain consonant, plus a long component of palatalization (symbolized /, /). The palatalization component affects the consonant immediately preceding it and, subject to idiolectal (individual) varia-

tion, the consonant or consonants preceding that consonant (without intervening juncture). Dental consonants preceding a palatalized consonant are almost universally assimilated with regard to palatalization, while labials and velars tend not to be affected by the palatalization of a following consonant. The domain of the palatalization component is therefore considered to be the consonant preceding it, plus a consonant or consonants preceding that (but subject to rules excluding certain classes of phonemes) and, as we shall see, the following vowel.

The consonants /š ž c/ are never palatalized, while /č j/ are always articulated with a phonetic element of palatalization and affect neighboring phonemes as palatalized consonants. Since their palatalization is a constant concomitant, we will not symbolize it, but write /č j/ instead of non-occurrent /č̣, j̣/.² The non-palatalized consonants /b p m/ tend to be labialized (lips are rounded giving a slight w-like effect following the consonant) before the vowels /i o u/.

SUMMARY OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

Consonants									
	Palatalizable ³ (occur with or without ,)					Always Palatalized (occur only with ,)	Non-palatalizable (never occur with ,)		
voiceless:	p	t	k	f	s x	č	š	c	
voiced:	b	d	g	v	z		ž		
neutral:	m	n			r l	j			
palatalizing component: ,									

1.1.3 The vowels

Consider the following examples:

C_____			C,____C		
[tá]	та	that (Nf)	[t, ák]	тяг	of weights
[tó]	то	that (NAn)	[t, ók]	тёк	flowed
[tú]	ту	that (Af)	[t, úk]	тук	bale
[té]	тэ	the letter "t"	[t, ém]	тем	that (Im/n)
[t±]	ты	thou	[t, ík]	тик	tic

In the two columns above, there are five vowel sounds contrasting with each other following palatalized and non-palatalized consonants respectively. In the first four examples in each column above are the vowels [a o u e] in each environment (it is true that after a palatalized consonant, each vowel is somewhat higher or fronter than after a plain consonant).

The last example in column C_____ is [ɨ], a high mid unrounded vowel. The last example in column C____C is [i], a high front unrounded vowel. It would seem that we are, as in the case of the first four vowel pairs, dealing with a pair of allophones in complementary distribution. However, there are also the items [i] и 'the letter "i"' and [ɨ] ъ 'the letter "y"', two items which are indubitably, for Russian speakers, distinct linguistic entities and thus in phonemic contrast. A solution would be to set up two phonemes, /ɨ/ and /i/; however, [i] and [ɨ] are very nearly in complementary distribution, contrasting only in the two items above and, for some speakers, in a few others. Another solution, which we shall adopt here, is the following: Since, in other than initial position, [i] appears only after /, /, we shall write /, i/ for [i] in initial position; [ɨ] is therefore phonemically /, i/ and [ɨ] phonemically /i/.⁴

In position between two palatalized consonants (C____C), the vowels have still higher, fronter, and tenser allophones than simply after a palatalized consonant. Thus, in /p, i̯t, / пить 'to drink' and /p, é̯t, / петь 'to sing', /e i/ have higher, tenser allophones; in /t, ú̯l, / тюль 'tulle' and /t, ó̯t, i̯j/ тётей 'of aunts', /u o/ have fronted allophones; and in /p, á̯t, / пять 'five', /a/ has a fronted allophone [æ] somewhat like the /æ/ in English *cat*. In initial position, the vowel allophone occurring after a plain consonant occurs, except in the case of /i/ where /, i/ occurs as mentioned.

The foregoing contrasts exemplify vowels in stressed position. Except under exceptional conditions, only under stress do all five vowel phonemes occur.⁵ In unstressed position only /e o/ do not occur. In a syllable immediately preceding a stressed syllable or immediately following juncture, we have [a i ɨ u] similar to the corresponding allophones under stress, except that they are shorter and frequently less tensely articulated. We assign these to /a ,i i̯ u/ respectively. In other unstressed position we have [ə i ɨ u] all of which are laxer and less far from mid-central position than the allophones occurring in stressed or even immediate pretonic position. We assign these to /a ,i i̯ u/ respectively.

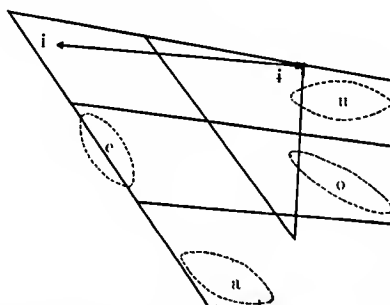
Examples:

/a/	[xəraʂó]	/xaraʂó/	хорошо	good
	[gəradá]	/garadá/	города	cities
	[abaʂól]	/abaʂól/	обошел	went around
	[aftəmaβ, ɪl,]	/aftamab, ɪl, /	автомобиль	automobile
	[vəaruʒít,]	/va=aruʒít, /	вооружить	to arm

The morphophonemic replacements of vowels between stressed and unstressed syllables will be treated in section 1.2.5.

Russian has, then, the following vowel phonemes:

	non-rounded		rounded
	i	[ɨ]	u
low	e	a	o
	front	non-front	



Location of the vowel allophones on the articulatory vowel triangle.

1.1.4 Suprasegmentals (prosodic phonemes)

1.1.4.1 *Stress*. Word stress / ' / occurs once only in a word. With a few exceptions (words which usually occur without stress, such as monosyllabic prepositions, and words which occur only with secondary stress), one syllable of every word bears word stress.⁶

p, is, mó letter p, is, ma letters

The stressed syllable is louder (more intense) than neighboring unstressed syllables. Stress occurs on a given syllable in any form and contrasts with lack of stress in other syllables. Secondary stress / ` / may occur in compound words in addition to word stress

and as the sole stress in some short words. Secondary stressed syllables, while louder than unstressed, are not as loud as stressed syllables.

gòrsav, ét city soviet
tr, òxsót three hundred
nò (in speech of conversational speed) but
škòla+, int, irnát boarding school

In compound words containing secondary and primary word stress, the sequence is always /' '. Pronouns generally have secondary stress in speech of conversational speed, replacing primary stress of deliberate style.

Major stress—one, rarely two, words have major stress in each major segment; the major stress is more intense (louder) than the word stress. When major stress occurs in a word, it falls upon the syllable which normally carries word stress. It may be regarded as an addition to, rather than a replacement of word stress. The symbol /' ' / is used to denote major stress.

1.1.4.2 *Transitional phenomena (junctures)*. Minor juncture /+ / is signaled by exclusion of the occurrence of voiced consonants before it, and limitation of the domain of stress in conditioning pretonic vowel allophones, as well as by its serving as a limit to the domain of /, /. Compare the following examples,

- (1) /d, ir, évn, a+ tām / the village there
(2) /gavar, ít+ atóm / he's talking about that

where the /a/ before juncture (1) has the post-stress allophone [ə], while the /a/ immediately preceding stressed syllable (2) without intervening juncture has the allophone [a] characteristic of the syllable immediately preceding stress. There also may be present some slowing or stretching of the preceding segmental phonemes. An immediately preceding stressed vowel, however, is shorter than a stressed vowel usually is. There may be an additional minor juncture /= /, signaled by the fact that it serves as a barrier to the extension of the domain of /, /.

Major juncture /| / is signaled by all of the phenomena listed for minor juncture, plus a more pronounced slowing or stretching of preceding segmental phonemes; sometimes there is a very brief pause present. This juncture may be accompanied by terminal contour /v / or by / ^ /.

Examples:

/ ² éta+ ³ p, i ¹ tróf ¹ v /	Это Петров.	That's Petrov.
/ ² ku ³ dá+ ² vī+xat,	Куда вы хотите	Where do you want
ít, i+, itt, î ¹ v /	идти?	to go?

/²pa³ká+, i³d, ¹ót+
³^ópit³ |²tók+
³bú²d, ¹it¹ √|/

Пока идет опыт, While the experi-
 ток будет. ment is going on,
 there will be
 current.

The stretch of speech bounded at the end by /|/ (and preceded by silence, pause or another segment bounded by /|/) is termed “major segment.”⁷ Division of an utterance into major segments will depend on individual speaking style and speed. A given utterance in rapid speech will be spoken in fewer major segments than the same utterance in slow deliberate speech. But the segmentation is not arbitrary—there are some places where a major segment boundary may be made and others where it will be rare or non-occurrent. For example, in normal Russian speech a major segment boundary never occurs between a preposition and the word following it and rarely between an adjective and the noun it qualifies.

1.1.4.3 *Pitch levels and contours.* There seem to be four significant pitch levels, numbered from lower to higher /¹²³⁴/. These levels do not represent absolute pitch levels, but levels which are relatively higher or lower than neighboring stretches of speech in a given discourse. Further, there are two contour fulcra—final drop-off and fade /√/ and high rise-fall /^/. /√/ occurs only in conjunction with /|/ in utterance final position, while /^/ occurs either in conjunction with /|/ in utterance final or non-final position, or alone in non-final position. Examples of /√/ occur in section 1.1.4.2 above. Major segments terminating in /√|/ are the final (or sole) major segments of statements or question-word questions. Major segments containing /^/ are (1) final (or sole) segments of alternative (“yes/no”) questions or (2) non-final segments of both statements and questions. An example of (2) occurs in the last example sentence of the preceding section; examples of (1) follow:

/ ² vì+, i ³ d, ^ó ¹ t, i+	Вы идете в	Are you going to the
vbuf, ét ¹ /	буфет?	lunch counter?
/ ² tì+ tá ³ m+ ³ bíl ³ /	Ты там был?	You were there?

Pitch levels and fulcra combine into contours extending over the domain of the major segment and are characteristic of various types of statements and questions.

1.2 AUTOMATIC SOUND CHANGE

1.2.1 Voicing assimilation

Russian sounds are either voiced (the vocal cords vibrate producing a tone during production of the sound in question) or voice-

less (the vocal cords are silent). In the table below the sounds in group A do not occur in clusters together with the sounds in group B (although non-labials of A may precede /v v, /). The sounds of group C, though phonetically voiced, may occur with sounds of either A or B.

A voiceless	p p, t t, k k, s s, š c č x f f,	C neutral m m, n n, r r, l l, j
B voiced	b b, d d, g g, z z, ž - - - v v,	

When word formation, grammatical changes, or juxtaposition of words in rapid speech would otherwise bring sounds of A and B together in clusters, the last voiced or voiceless sound of the resulting cluster causes the remaining sounds of the cluster to assimilate to it, i.e., to be voiced or voiceless as it is, if they have a voiced or voiceless counterpart.

/č c x/ cause replacement of preceding voiced sounds by voiceless sounds; before voiced sounds they have voiced allophones [ž ʒ ɣ]. Voiced counterparts of [č c x] other than as a result of assimilation occur only marginally (their possible phonemic status is discussed in note 1). Neutral sounds do not bring about assimilation. Notice that /v v, / do not cause assimilation, but are affected by it (replaced by their voiceless counterparts /f f, /) if followed by a voiceless sound. Examples: preposition /k/ 'to', /dóčka/ 'daughter', /gdóčk, i/ 'to the daughter'; preposition /v/ 'in', /tánk/ 'tank', /ftánk, i/ 'in the tank', but /s/ 'with', plus /ván, a/ 'Johnny', /sván, ij/ 'with Johnny' (no assimilation); preposition /iz/ 'out of', /istánka/ 'out of the tank'; preposition /v/ 'in', /máj/ 'May', /vmáji/ 'in May' (no assimilation).

1.2.2 Neutralization of voice word-finally

Only voiceless or neutral consonants appear at the end of a word before juncture or before a word beginning with a vowel, a neutral consonant, or a voiceless consonant; thus, voiced consonants which would otherwise appear are replaced by their unvoiced counterparts.

Examples:

/bl, úda/	dish	/bl, út/	of dishes
/šága/	of a step	/šák/	step
/gáza/	of gas	/gás/	gas

Of course, if a word otherwise ending in an unvoiced consonant is followed without juncture by a word beginning with a voiced consonant, the unvoiced final consonant of the first word is replaced by its voiced counterpart.

/kák/	how	/d,ilá/	affairs, works
/kàgd,ilá/	how are things		

1.2.3 Sibilant assimilation

As sequences of apico-dental (hissing) sibilants plus post-alveolar (hushing) sibilants do not occur, before /š ž č/, /s z/ are replaced by /š ž/.

/s/	with	/šúba/	fur coat	/ššúba _j /	with a fur coat
		/žiná/	wife	/žžinó _j /	with one's wife
		/čísí/	watch	/ščísám _i /	with a watch
/iz/	out of	/žurnál/	magazine	/ižžurnála/	out of the magazine
		/čáj/	tea	/iščá _j a/	out of tea
		/šáxta/	mine	/iššáxti/	out of the mine

1.2.4 Neutralization of palatalization before dentals (except /l/)

A palatalized consonant loses its palatalization when an element beginning with an unpalatalized dental consonant /t d n s z c r/ follows it.

	Nsg.	p,ós	Gsg.	psa	dog
vs.					
	Nsg.	agan,ók	Gsg.	agan,ká	small fire

1.2.5 Replacement of vowels in unstressed syllables

As stated above, /e o/ do not occur in unstressed syllables. Further, in unstressed syllables preceding stress, the distribution of vowels is limited in such a way that while /a i u/ occur after non-palatalized consonants, only /i u/ may occur after palatalized consonants. For morphophonemic purposes, it is useful to posit non-palatalized consonants other than /š ž č/ as "hard" consonants and palatalized consonants plus /š ž č/ as "soft" consonants. With some speakers (representing an older standard) the limitation to /i u/ is extended to position after all "soft" consonants (i.e., to position after /š ž č/ as well as after C.)

and /a/ is accordingly replaced by /i/ after /š ž c/ as well as after C,.

As the place of stress shifts due to change in grammatical forms or to word-building and derivation, we have the following vowel replacements:⁸

stressed syllable	pre-stress			post-stress	
	after "hard" consonant	after /š ž c/	after pal. consonant	after "hard" C	after "soft" C
a	→ a	a (~i*)	i	a	a
o	→ a	i	i	a	i~a*
e	→ -	i	i	-	i
i } u }	—no change—				

*older norm

Examples:

Before Stress					
a → i	Nsg. /čás/ час	Npl. /čísí/ часы	hour		
	Nsg. /šák/ шаг	Npl. /šag, í/ шаги	step		
		(or older /šig, í/)			
o → a	Nsg. /górat/ город	Npl. /garadá/ города́	city		
o → i	Past m. /p, ok/ пёк	Past f. /p, iklá/ пекла	baked		
	/žóltij/ жёлтый		yellow		
		/žilt, ét,/ желтеть	to become yellow		
e → i	Nsg. /vr, ém, a/ время	Npl. /vr, im, iná/ времена	time		
	N /séšt,/ шесть	G /šíst, í/ шести	six		

After Stress

o → a~i	Nsg. -ó:/aknó/ окно	window
	/mór, i/~mór, a/ море	sea
	/lóži/~lóža/ ложе	bed
	Gsg. -ovo:/bal, šóva/ большого	big
	/l, étn, iva/~l, étn, ava/ летнего	summer
	/xaróšiva/~xaróšava/ хорошего	good

e → i	DPsg. -e: /žín, é/ жене	wife
	/báb, i/ бабе	old woman
	/káš'i/ каше	gruel, kasha

1.2.6 Non-occurrence of velar plus /i/

The sequence velar /k g x/ plus /i/ does not occur without intervening juncture. If an element beginning with /i/ is attached to a velar, the velar becomes palatalized:

Nsg. /kn, íga/	Gsg. /kn, íg, i/	books
/t, ótka/	/t, ótk, i/	aunt
/blaxá/	/blax, i/	flea

Likewise, after a vowel, after a pause (utterance initially), after a major juncture, or after a minor juncture in slow and deliberate speech, /i/ is replaced by /, i/. Thus,

/sigrájit/	сыграет	he will play
/za, igrájit/	заиграет	he will begin to play
/ól, ga, igrájit/	Ольга играет	Olga is playing
/, igrájit/ (utterance initial)	играет	(he, she, it) is playing
/ónigrájit/ (rapid) or /ón+, igrájit/ (deliberate)	он играет	he is playing
/sn, ék+ id, ót/ (rapid) or /sn, ék+, id, ót/ (deliberate)	снег идёт	snow is falling

These replacements of /i/ by /, i/ are automatic in the sense that they occur in the overwhelming majority of cases. There are a very few morphemes in which the replacement never takes place and as such constitute an exception to the complete automaticity of the phenomena in question; these are /í/ 'the letter ы' for most speakers, and for some speakers certain technical words as /inikčánsk, ij/ Ыныкчанский (place name in Yakut ASSR, cf. БСЭ), /akín/ акын '(Qazaq) bard.'⁹

1.2.7 Automatic palatalization before /e/

When an element beginning with /e/ is attached to any consonant capable of being palatalized, that consonant becomes palatalized.

Nsg. /žíná/	Dsg. /žín, é/	wife
/ruká/	/ruk, é/	hand
/z, imá/	/z, im, é/	winter
/báza/	/báz, i/	base
/xáta/	/xát, i/	hut

From the last example it will be seen that this rule holds also when the /e/ is replaced by /i/ in unstressed position.

1.3 CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING TO SPEECH

1.3.1 The Russian alphabet

letter transliteration letter transliteration letter transliteration

А а	а	Л л	l	Х х	x
Б б	b	М м	m	Ц ц	c
В в	v	Н н	n	Ч ч	č
Г г	g	О о	o	Ш ш	š
Д д	d	П п	p	Щ щ	šč
Е е	e	Р р	r	Ъ ъ	"
Ж ж	ž	С с	s	Ы ы	y
З з	z	Т т	t	Ь ь	'
И и	i	У у	u	Э э	è
Й й	j	Ф ф	f	Ю ю	ju
К к	k			Я я	ja

The above transliteration is the one used by most Slavists in scholarly publications to render the Russian Cyrillic letters into a Latin letter spelling, as for example, in citing names of persons or publications. A transliteration is thus a representation, in one-to-one correspondence, of *spelling*, not of sound. It is not a transcription intended to represent the sounds of a language (various types of transcription are treated in section 1.5 below).

1.3.2 Representation of the Russian sounds by the letters

spoken	Vowels in stressed syllable	/a/	/e/	/i/	/o/	/u/
written	{ "Hard" series letters	а	э	ы	о	у
with	{ "Soft" series letters	я	е	и	ё	ю

Paired consonants

spoken	written	spoken	written	spoken	written
p	p, —п	f	f, —ф	l	l, —л
b	b, —б	v	v, —в	r	r, —р
t	t, —т	x	x, —х	m	m, —м
d	d, —д	s	s, —с	n	n, —н
k	k, —к	z	z, —з		
g	g, —г				

*Unpaired consonants**non-palatalized*

c—ц

š—ш

ž—ж

palatalized

č—ч

šč—шч

j—й

Special signs

“Soft” sign—ь (indicates palatalization of preceding consonant)

“Hard” sign—ъ (in conjunction with following “soft” series letter, indicates consonant is followed by /j/)

Each of the five Russian vowels is represented by two letters, one being the so-called “hard” series letter the other being the so-called “soft” series letter. The “hard” series letter represents the vowel after a non-palatalized consonant; the “soft” series letter represents the vowel after a palatalized consonant. As each pair of palatalized and non-palatalized consonants is represented by a single letter, a non-palatalized consonant plus vowel is represented by the appropriate consonant letter plus the appropriate “hard” series vowel letter, while a palatalized consonant plus vowel is represented by the appropriate consonant letter plus the appropriate “soft” series letter. Thus /ta/ is та, while /t̪a/ is тя. A palatalized consonant not followed by a vowel (say, at the end of a word) is represented by the appropriate consonant letter plus the soft sign ь. Thus, /-t̪/ is -ть.

When a “soft” series vowel letter does not occur after a consonant letter (i.e., when it is after another vowel letter, a hard or soft sign, or at the beginning of a word), it represents /j/ plus its appropriate vowel. Thus, /b̪.ju/ is written бью and /jar/ is written яр. The sound /j/ is represented as follows:

1) Before vowel

(a) at beginning of word or after another vowel—by writing the appropriate “soft” series vowel letter: /jǎ/ я ‘I’, /ujút/ уют ‘cosiness’.

(b) after a consonant—by writing the appropriate “soft” series vowel letter in conjunction with preceding hard or soft sign: /b̪.jú/ бью ‘I beat’, /s̪.jést/ съестъ ‘to eat up’.

2) After a vowel, but with no vowel following—with letter й: /mój/ мой ‘my’. Very rarely, й represents /j/ in other positions: /majór/ майор ‘major’.

The letter ь has no independent sound value but serves to indicate that the preceding letter represents a palatalized sound. If

TABLE 1. PRONUNCIATION OF RUSSIAN VOWEL LETTERS

letter	at beginning of word		in non-initial position			
	stressed	unstressed	before, but not immediately before, stress	syllable immediately before stress	stressed syllable	after stressed syllable
у	у	у	у	у	у	у
ю	ју	ју	у	у	у	у
и (except after ш ж ы)	,и	,и	,и	,и	,и	,и
и (following ш ж ы)	--	--	и [±]	и [±]	и [±]	и [±]
ы	*и [±]	*и [±]	и [±]	и [±]	и [±]	и [±]
е (following ш ж ы)	--	--	и [±]	и [±]	е	и [±]
е (elsewhere)	је	ји	,и	,и	,е	,и
э	е	,и or е	и [±]	и [±]	е	и [±]
я	ја	ји	,и	,и	,а	,а [ə]
а (after ч ш)	--	--	,и	,и	,а	,а [ə]
а (elsewhere)	а	а	а [ə]	а	а	а [ə]
о	о	а	а [ə]	а	о	а [ə]
ё***	јо	--	--	--	о	--

* occurs only very rarely in position indicated

** often printed simple e

followed by a "soft" series vowel letter, it also indicates that the sound /j/ follows. Sometimes it is written after unpaired consonant letters. In such a case, it signals nothing and its presence is purely a spelling convention: *ночь* /nóčʃ/ 'night' *вошь* /vóšʃ/ 'louse'. The letter ь is written only after prefixes ending in a consonant and serves, in conjunction with a following "soft" series vowel letter, to indicate that a /j/ follows: *съесть* /s,éstʃ/ 'eat up'.

The letters ц, ш, ж, representing consonants which are always non-palatalized, plus the letters ч and щ, representing always palatalized consonants, form a special group. After them (ц, ш, ж, ч, щ), only а and у (never я or ю) are written; after ч, щ, ж, ш, only и (rather than ы) is written, despite the fact that [ɨ] (never [i]) is pronounced after ш and ж. After ц, ы is usually written, though и may be written in recently borrowed words (*цирк* 'circus', *цинк* 'zinc'); however, [ɨ] is invariably pronounced. In grammatical endings of the noun and adjective, after ж ш щ ч ц, written о in stressed endings alternates with е in unstressed endings: *отцѡв*, *українцѡв*; cf. *отѣц* 'father', *українец* 'Ukrainian'. Phenomena of assimilation and voicing neutralization (1.2.1-3) are not reflected in the writing system. Thus, the examples given in those sections are written: *к дочке*, *в танке*, *с Ваней*, *из танка*, *в мае*, *блюд*, *шаг*, *газ*, *как дела*, *с шубой*, *с женой*, *с часами*, *из журнала*, *из чая*, *из шахты*.

Alternation of stressed and unstressed vowels (1.2.5) is also not reflected in the writing system. Thus, the letters have the varying pronunciation in various positions as indicated in the Table I.

1.4 NON-AUTOMATIC SOUND CHANGES

Besides consonant assimilation and vowel change caused by stress shift which is automatic (occur whenever the conditions of their occurrence are met), the following non-automatic sound changes are widespread in Russian.

1.4.1 Inserted vowel

Many elements which end in two or more consonants when followed by a vowel, occur with a vowel inserted between the last and next to last consonant of the original cluster when followed by a zero ending or by an element beginning with a consonant. The inserted vowels are /o/, /e/, and rarely /i/.

Examples:

/o/	r,eb,on(o)k-	ребёнок	/r,ib,ónok/	child
		vs.		
		ребёнка	/r,ib,ónka/	of a child
	zvon(o)k-	звонók	/zvanók/	bell
		vs.		
		звонкá	/zvanká/	of a bell
	s,ost,(o)r-	сестёр	/s,íst,ór/	of sisters
		vs.		
		сёстры	/s,óstri/	sisters
/e/	agur,(e)c-	огурец	/agur,éc/	cucumber
		vs.		
		огурцы	/agurcí/	cucumbers
/,i/	tret,(i)j-	трётй	/tr,ét,ij/	the third
		vs.		
		трётъя	/tr,ét,ja/	third (f)
	od,(i)n-	одйн	/ad,in/	onc
		vs.		
		однá	/adná/	one (f)

Inserted vowels appear principally in the Nsg. of стóл- and кóсть-nouns, Gpl. of женá- and окнó-nouns, and in the nominative masculine short form of adjectives.

In stressed position three inserted vowels appear /o e ,i/. In the vast majority of cases the vowel is /o/. /e/ appears but rarely, most notably in the suffix -(e)c-, but also in a few other items, while /,i/ appears in very few items, namely in *od,(i)n-* о́дйн 'one' and *jij(i)c-* яйцó Gpl. яйц 'egg'.¹⁰ A good rule of thumb for vowel insertion is if the consonant following the inserted vowel is palatalized (including /j/) or /c/ and the preceding consonant is soft, the inserted vowel is /e/, otherwise it is /o/; exceptions are extremely few, e.g., *xr,eb,(e)t-* хребёт 'ridge, spine'.

In unstressed position, due to the rules of vowel replacement (1.2.5), we have only /a/ after hard consonants and /i/ after soft consonants, so that after soft consonants distinction between the three inserted vowel morphophonemes is neutralized and we can assign the unstressed inserted vowel to one of these three, if at all, on the basis of the morpheme in which it occurs. Thus, /,i/ in /ukrajín,ic/ we assign to the morphophoneme -e- on the basis of -(é)c- in бо́ец 'warrior', о́рыец, etc. Unstressed /a/ after a hard consonant, of course, is always assignable to morphophonemic -o-.

1.4.2 Substitutive softening or J-change

The following consonant replacements take place; items on the left (or their palatalized counterparts) are replaced by those on the right:

		replaced by
/t	k/	→ /č/
/d	g z/	→ /ž/
	/x s/	→ /š/
labial C: /p b f v m/		→ labial C plus /l,/

The above changes are often referred to as substitutive softening, and in this work will usually be referred to as J-change. The clusters /st sk/ are replaced by /šč/ and /zd zg/ by /žž/; this change may be viewed as the regular J-change of the last consonant of the cluster plus sibilant assimilation of preceding /s z/ to the result of J-change. In some items (historically, borrowings from Church Slavic) /t d/ are replaced by /šč žž/ rather than /č ž/. J-change occurs mainly in verb morphology and in word-building.

Examples:

/d, → ž/	ходить /xəd, it, / ~хожý /xažú/	to go
/s → š/	писать /p, isát, / ~пишý /p, išú/	to write
/zd, → žž/	ездить /jézd, it, / ~уезжáть /ujizžát, /	to go (away)
/p p, → pl, /	спáть /spát, /, спít /sp, it, / ~сплю	
	/spl, ú/	to sleep
/k → č/	плáкать /plákat, / ~плáчу /pláču/	to cry

1.4.3 /C,óC/~C,éC, /

Sometimes, in position after palatalized consonant or /š ž/, /o/ followed by a non-palatalized consonant alternates with /e/ followed by a palatalized consonant. Since the unstressed replacement of both of these vowels is /i/, the alteration is realized only under stress.

Nsg. чéрт /čért, / ~Npl. чéрти /čért, i/	devil
past пёк /p, ók, / ~inf. пéчь /p, éč, /	to bake

Other non-automatic changes, which affect only single categories of words, will be mentioned under the discussion of the type of word involved (e.g., /t d b/ before /t/ → /s/ in the verbal infinitive, etc.).

1.5 DISCUSSION OF USE OF TRANSCRIPTIONS
AND SPELLING

Language is basically oral. Writing is a secondary representation of speech (oral sounds). If we wish to record speech on paper, we use conventional writing, or, where particular accuracy is needed, as in linguistic investigations, a transcription. Transcriptions are of various kinds. A transcription which aims to record the most minute audible differences in speech sounds is termed phonetic and is usually enclosed in brackets []. A transcription which aims to represent each phoneme (unit sound) of a given language with one and only one symbol is phonemic. Thus, we transcribe the Russian word *dáma* 'lady' phonetically [dámə] because the vowel in the second syllable differs noticeably from the one in the first syllable, but we transcribe it phonemically /dáma/, because both vowels are members of the same contrastive unit sound (phoneme) in Russian.

While only a phonemic transcription is consistent by always rendering each phoneme by the same symbol, a morphophonemic transcription, which does not reflect automatic (and hence predictable) phonemic changes undergone by forms in certain environments is often useful, for while we lose the one-to-one correspondence between phoneme and symbol, we gain in simplicity of representation of morphemes. Aside from minor inconsistencies, the Russian orthography is a pretty good morphophonemic transcription system (if stress is indicated).

Transcriptions:

phonetic:	góret	garadá	l, ixkó l, óxk, ij	
phonemic:	górat	garadá	l, ixkó l, óxk, ij	one for one: phoneme ↔ symbol
morphophonemic:	górod	gorodá	l, oxkó l, óxki j	phoneme → symbol (we lose one-to-one phonemic correspondence but gain in simplicity of representation of morphemes)
orthography:	гóрод	города́	легко́ лёгкий	

Material in the text below will be presented either in normal Russian orthography (spelling) or in a transcription. Russian

spelling will be used for example words or sentences. However, material in Russian spelling will be accented, the acute accent (´) indicating the stressed syllable (in the spelling material no distinction will be made between the three phonemic stresses). Elements smaller than words (prefixes, grammatical endings and other suffixes, word stems, etc.) will usually be given in a morphophonemic transcription. If necessary to call attention to the pronunciation of a particular item, of course, phonemic transcription (enclosed in slant lines / /) will be used. The morphophonemic transcription will utilize the symbols (letters) of phonemic transcription given above, it will be italicized in the text and will usually begin or end with a hyphen (representing morpheme boundary).

It is important to remember that, since automatic changes, such as vowel replacement through stress shift or voicing assimilation, are not indicated, the symbols of the morphophonemic transcription may represent more than one phoneme. Thus, *-o* will be /o/ when stressed, /i/ unstressed after a palatalized consonant, and /a/ unstressed after a hard consonant.

The symbol “.” in the morphophonemic transcription deserves special mention. If it appears at the beginning of a morphophonemic formula, it means the consonant preceding the element represented will be palatalized (if such consonant is susceptible to palatalization). Thus, *-.ot* means that a consonant preceding this ending becomes palatalized. However “.” will not be written before the morphophonemic representation of an element beginning with *e*, because palatalization of a consonant preceding this morphophoneme is automatic: stem-final /n/ of the stem *žon-* (of жена́ ‘wife’) is palatalized before the ending *-e* of the prepositional and dative cases /žin.é/.

Our morphophonemic symbol *i* will represent [i] (the sound usually represented by the Russian letter И) after a palatalized consonant (word initially we would write *.i*, *.idú* for идý ‘I go’), and [ɪ] (the sound represented by the Russian letter Ъ) after a non-palatalized consonant. It is important to remember the rule that *i* following a velar consonant /k g x/ automatically palatalizes the velar. Thus, the stem *dočk-* of дочка ‘daughter’ adds /./ before the ending *-i* of the genitive singular: *dóčk.i*.

In working with the morphophonemic transcription, the various automatic vowel replacements in unstressed position must be kept in mind; the morphophoneme *-o-* (spelled o or ě) when unstressed is realized as /i/ after soft consonants (i.e., after palatalized consonants and /š ž c/) and as /a/ after hard consonants. Thus: *stol-* ‘table’, Gsg. *stolá* /stalá/ столá; *žon-* ‘wife’, Npl. *žóni* /žóni/ жёны, Nsg. *žoná* /žiná/ женá; *p.ok-* ‘to bake’, *p.ók*

/p, ók/ nĕk '(he) baked', *p, oklá* /p, iklá/ пеклá 'she baked'. Also, compare the ending -o of the Nsg. of one class of nouns:

<i>p, is, mó</i>	/p, is, mó/	письмó	letter
<i>ružjó</i>	/ružjó/	ружьё	gun
<i>m, áso</i>	/m, ása/	мясо	meat
<i>mór, o</i>	/mór, i/	мóре	sea
<i>lóžo</i>	/lóži/	лóже	couch, bed

In general, our Latin letter morphophonemic transcription will bear a very close correspondence to the Russian Cyrillic letter spelling (taking account of the special conventions of Russian spelling, such as the special "soft" series of vowel letters used to represent a vowel after a palatalized consonant and also /j/ plus vowel, as explained above). Particularly, one should remember that the morphophoneme -o is often represented by the Russian letters ě or e.

NOTES

1. Possible additional phonemes: Some speakers have /ɣ/, a voiced counterpart of /x/, in a few items such as /bóɣa/ 'of God' where others have /g/. This pronunciation is regarded as old-fashioned and obsolescent. For such speakers /ɣ/ is a phoneme, rather than a positional variant of /x/. Because of items like /žékat, / 'to use the dialect pronunciation "ž"', /ž, in, / (onomatopoetic), /žút/ 'jute', /žás/ 'jazz', /az, irbajžán/ 'Azerbaidzhan', it is possible that, for at least some speakers, /ž/ and /ẓ̌/ are phonemic—voiced counterparts to /c/ and /č/ respectively. Another possible analysis would be to analyze [ž] and [ẓ̌] as /dž/ and /dẓ̌/; choice of single phoneme or cluster analysis would presumably depend on whether [ž] and [ẓ̌] were articulated as closely fused as /c č/ or more loosely joined, and also whether they are, except for the voice component, articulatorily completely parallel to their voiceless counterpart. In fact, [ž] seems to be articulated at the position of /z/ rather than of /c/. Finally, a marginal phoneme /h/ occurs in a few interjections such as /ahá/ 'aha!'.

2. This analysis treats the sound segment usually represented by the letter ш or by cy as the sequence /šč/ (/, iščit/ ищет 'seeks', /ščót/ cyёт 'account') and the segment represented variously by жж, etc. as /žž/ (/ujižžát, / уезжать 'to go away'). In so doing, I conform to a variety of the newer (Leningrad) norm of standard Russian. Other idiolects, representing the older (Moscow) norm, have, in some of the items corresponding to those where the speech variety here treated has /šč/ and /žž/ respectively, the sequences /šš, / and /žž, / respectively: /, išš, it/, /šš, ót/, /ujižž, át, /; while in other items /šč/ (or /š+č/) and /žž/ occur in both varieties: /b, iščúfstf/ or /b, iš+čúfstf/ без чувств 'without feelings', /žžók/ cжёр '(he) burned up'. In this second variety then, one must add the proviso that /š/ and /ž/ when geminated may be palatalized; that is, /, / may in some instances occur in conjunction with double /š/ and /ž/. To this extent the phonology of the older norm is more complicated than that of the newer.

3. /k, g, x, / are in almost complementary distribution with /k g x/, the former usually occurring before /i e/, the latter before /a o u/. However, there do exist

contrasts, particularly for /k/ versus /k/. Thus, /kót/ кот 'tomcat' vs. /tk,ót/ ткёт 'weaves'; /kurót/ курорт 'health resort' vs. /kjuv,ét/ кювет 'small basin, cuvette'; /g,érp/ репб 'coat of arms' vs. /gés/ ГЭС 'hydroelectric station'; /xáta/ хата 'cottage' vs. /x,ata/ Хята (placename in Siberia, north of Magadan), /xék,i/ хэки 'hakes (pl.)', a fish (genus *Merluccius*) occurrent in Soviet waters as well as elsewhere (Большая Советская Энциклопедия, v. vol. 46, 2d ed., Moscow: 1949-58) vs. /x,éd,ir/ хедер 'header (part of a combine), cheder (Jewish religious school)'; /x,urk,il,inci/ Хюркилинцы (name of an ethnic group in Daghestan) vs. /xul,igánstva/ хулиганство 'hooliganism, rowdiness'. See also A. N. Gvozdev, Современный русский литературный язык I, 2d ed., Moscow: Učpedgiz, 1961, pp. 16-17.

4. The brief presentation of the vowel system given here does not permit a detailed justification of this analysis. For a fuller discussion, see my article "An Alternative Phonemic Analysis of Russian," *SEJ* 6:125-8 (1962) and my rebuttal of discussion attendant upon it in *SEJ* 7:97-9 (1963); E. Stankiewicz's assumption (*SEJ* 9:434 (1965)) that I have somehow abandoned the position I assumed in that study is based upon a misunderstanding; my *SEJ* article was written after my *Slavic Historical Phonology in Tabular Form*, The Hague: Mouton, 1963, though the latter, due to speedier publication of journal material, appeared with a publication date subsequent to the journal article. For the distinction of /i/ versus /i/, see also A. N. Gvozdev, Современный русский литературный язык I, 2d ed., Moscow: Učpedgiz, 1961, p. 13.

5. The exceptions are constituted by various recent foreign borrowings as /rád,ijo/ 'radio' where /e o/ may occur in unstressed syllables.

6. Monosyllabic prepositions and the negative particle /n,e/ are proclitics, i.e., they form a single stress unit with the following noun (plurisyllabic prepositions may behave in this way or bear secondary stress). Typically, the preposition is unstressed, but in some fixed expressions composed of a preposition plus a noun, the stress (of the whole stress unit) may rest upon the preposition: /nágaru/ на гору 'uphill'; also compare /n,ébila/ не было 'wasn't' (neuter) vs. /n,ibilá/ не была 'wasn't' (feminine).

7. The major segment is termed "macrosegment" by C. F. Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, New York: MacMillan, 1958, p. 38, and termed *takt* in much European writing.

8. There is considerable disagreement, undoubtedly reflecting variation in actual usage, concerning vowel replacement in post-stress position after a soft consonant. All are agreed that /e/ → /i/ and that /u i/ remain unchanged. According to D. Ward (*The Russian Language Today*, Chicago: CUP, 1965, pp. 29-30), /o a/ → /a/ in post-stress position after soft C. According to R. I. Avanesov (Фонетика современного русского литературного языка, Moscow, 1956, pp. 121-23), /o/ → /i/ in verbal endings, /a~i/ in nouns, /i/ being the newer norm, and /a/ remains /a/. According to S. C. Boyanus (*Russian Pronunciation and Russian Phonetic Reader*, Cambridge: HUP, 1955), /o/ → /a~i/, /a/ remains /a/ only in open final syllables, while in all other post-stress syllables the same replacement rules apply as to pre-stress syllables, i.e., /a o e/ → /i/ after C.

9. As replacement of /i/ by /,i/ is automatic with the few exceptions mentioned in the last paragraph, in a possible morphophonemic notation we would not need to write /,i/ word initially or following velar, but would write *i* instead—it being understood that /, / occurs automatically under the conditions stated above. Items which retain /i/ word initially or after velar would be considered as containing a rarely occurrent morphophoneme *í* (i.e., /i/ not subject to replacement by /,i/) and would be written *í*, *akén*. This morphophonemic notation would then coincide with that proposed by R. L. Leed in *SEJ* 7:39-42 (1963), though the theoretic justi-

fication for it is different from Leed's proposal. In the morphophonemic notation which I use in the present work (section 1.5), I shall for pedagogic clarity, write the sequence /,i/ (≠ /i/) wherever it occurs, including after velars and initially.

10. I posit /,i/ rather than /i/ as the inserted vowel, since it is necessary to account for the palatalization of the morpheme final consonant in such examples as /b,/ (from /r¹ba/ рыба 'fish' with unpalatalized /b/) in the adjective /r¹b,i^j/ (the palatalization of the forms without /,i/ is conditioned by the following /j/). In unstressed syllables, of course, the distinction between inserted /,i/ and /e/ is neutralized.

The Form System

2.1 NOMINAL WORDS

The classes of words (“parts of speech”) are here defined primarily according to the morphological paradigm into which they fall. That is, all words which occur with the set of endings characteristic of any one of the noun declensions is a noun, etc. Secondly, syntactic criteria apply in defining word classes. Thus, any item which appears solely in a syntactic slot predominantly occupied by nouns would be classified a noun, even though it might not show the inflectional suffixes of a noun declension (e.g., it might be morphologically unchanging, indeclinable). Where the two types of criteria (inflectional form and syntactic function) conflict, we are obviously dealing with special sub-classes (cf. substantivized adjectives, 2.1.2.2 below).

Nominal words are those words which manifest the category of case. The Russian case system comprises six cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, prepositional, dative, and instrumental, respectively abbreviated N, A, G, P, D, I. These cases are signalled, in part, by the occurrence of inflectional suffixes (case endings), which usually have a distinct phonemic shape, though each paradigm has at least one pair of homophonous endings.

Nominal words comprise nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals. All but numerals manifest the grammatical categories, singular (sg.) versus plural (pl.). Nouns typically have a complete array of case forms for both singular and plural, though there is a large group (mass nouns, placenames, and the like) which occur usually or exclusively in singular form and a somewhat smaller group (pluralia tantum, 2.1.1.6) which occur only in the plural. Nouns further possess the category of gender (masculine, feminine, or neuter) which is correlated to a certain extent with their declensional class; the inherent gender of a noun is manifested by pro-

nominal replacement (i.e., a masculine noun is replaced or referred to by a masculine pronoun, a feminine noun by a feminine pronoun, etc.) and by adjective agreement (an adjective attribute to a masculine noun must be in masculine form, etc.). Nouns further manifest the category animate versus inanimate: Animate nouns normally designate living beings and inanimate nouns, lifeless objects or concepts, though there is a minute residue of marginal words where grammatical animateness and life in the designatum do not coincide. The characteristics of remaining nominal words are discussed at the head of their respective sections.

2.1.1 Nouns

TABLE 2. NOUN ENDINGS

Sg.	окно́	сто́л	жена́	ко́сть
N	-o	-∅	-a	-∅
A		(N ~ G)	-u	
G	-a		-i	
P	-e			
D	-u			
I	-om		-oj(u)	
Pl.	Ending	Remarks		
N	-a	almost all окно́-nouns; some сто́л-nouns		
	-i	all ко́сть and жена́-nouns; most сто́л-nouns; very few окно́-nouns		
A	(N ~ G)			
G	∅	the vast majority of жена́- and окно́-nouns; a few сто́л-nouns		
	-ov	most сто́л-nouns ending in hard C or /j/; a very few окно́-nouns		
	-ej	all ко́сть-nouns; сто́л-nouns ending in soft C other than /j/; a very few жена́- and окно́-nouns		
P	-ax			
D	-am			
I	-am, i	a very few nouns have -m, i		

Sample declensions of nouns:

Sg.	сто́л-nouns, Animate		
	professor	American	teacher
N	профе́ссор	америка́нец	учи́тель
AG	профе́ссора	америка́нца	учи́теля
P	профе́ссоре	америка́нце	учи́теле
D	профе́ссору	америка́нцу	учи́телю
I	профе́ссором	америка́нцем	учи́телем

Pl.			
N	профессора́	америка́нцы	учите́ля
AG	профессоро́в	америка́нцев	учите́лей
P	профессора́х	америка́нцах	учите́лях
D	профессора́м	америка́нцам	учите́лям
I	профессора́ми	америка́нцами	учите́лями

Sg.	сто́л-nouns, Inanimate			
	table	pencil	bell	edge
NA	сто́л	каранда́ш	звоно́к	кра́й
G	стола́	карандаша́	звонка́	кра́я
P	столе́	карандаше́	звонке́	кра́е
D	столу́	карандашу́	звонку́	кра́ю
I	столо́м	карандашо́м	звонко́м	кра́ем

Pl.				
NA	столы́	карандаши́	звонки́	кра́я
G	столо́в	карандаше́й	звонко́в	краёв
P	столáх	карандаша́х	звонка́х	кра́ях
D	столáм	карандаша́м	звонка́м	кра́ям
I	столáми	карандаша́ми	звонка́ми	кра́ями

Sg.	окно́-nouns		жена́-nouns		
	window	meeting	gun	wife	aunt
N	{ окно́	{ собра́ние	{ ружьё	жена́	тётя
A				жену́	тётю
G	окна́	собра́ния	ружья́	жены́	тёти
P	окне́	собра́нии	ружье́	{ жене́	{ тёте
D	окну́	собра́нию	ружьё́		
I	окно́м	собра́нием	ружьём	жено́й	тётей

Pl.					
N	{ окна́	{ собра́ния	{ ру́жья	жёны́	тёти
A				{ жён	{ тётей
G	о́кон	собра́ний	ру́жей		

Р	б́кнах	собрáниях	ру́жьях	жéнах	тётях
Д	б́кнам	собрáниям	ру́жьям	жéнам	тётям
І	б́кнами	собрáниями	ру́жьями	жéнами	тётями

Sg.	женá-nouns				кóсьть-noun
	book	grandfather	land	judge	door
N	кни́га	де́душка	земля́	судья́	{ двéрь
A	кни́гу	де́душку	зе́млю	судью́	
G	кни́ги	де́душки	земли́	судьи́	{ двéри
P	{ кни́ге	{ де́душке	{ землé	{ судье́	
D					
I	кни́гой	де́душкой	землѐй	судьѐй	двѐрью
Pl.					
N	{ кни́ги	де́душки	{ зе́мли	су́дьи	{ двéри
A		{ де́душек		земѐль	
G	кни́г		земля́х		су́дьях
P	кни́гах	де́душках	зе́млях	су́дьям	дверя́м
D	кни́гам	де́душкам	зе́млям	су́дьям	дверя́м
I	кни́гами	де́душками	зе́млями	су́дьями	дверя́ми (-ьми)

2.1.1.1 *Remarks on the case endings.* The accusative singular of $\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda$ -nouns and the accusative plural of all nouns is identical with the genitive if the noun in question indicates a living being, but is identical with the nominative if it indicates an inanimate object or concept.

In the nominative plural very nearly all *окно́*-nouns and a fairly large (and growing number) of *сто́л*-nouns have the ending *-a*. In the overwhelming majority of *сто́л*-nouns with this ending, it is stressed. The remaining *сто́л*- (and a few *окно́*-) nouns and all *женá*- and *ко́сть*-nouns have the ending *-i*. The few *окно́*-nouns with *-i* include the stem-changing nouns *о́ко* 'eye' (archaic), *у́хо* 'ear' (Npl. *о́чи*, *у́ши*), all *окно́*-nouns with stems ending in /k/ (e.g., *ве́ко* 'eyelid') except *о́блако* 'cloud', nouns with the suffix *-išč-* (e.g., *доми́ще* 'big house'), and a few isolated nouns like *плечó* 'shoulder' and *коле́но* 'knee' (plural *коле́ни* with addition of palatalization of stem-final /n/).

In the genitive plural, the overwhelming majority of *окно́-* and *женá-*nouns as well as a fair number of *сто́л-*nouns have zero ending. A very few *женá-* and *окно́-*nouns with the stem ending in palatalized consonant other than /j/ or in /š ž/ have the ending *-ej*. For example, *дядя* 'uncle', genitive plural *дядей*; *мо́ре* 'sea', genitive plural *морей*; *у́хо* 'ear', genitive plural *ушей*. A small number

(but not the great majority, which have - \emptyset) of окнó-*nouns* with stems terminating in /j/ have the ending -*ov*. For example, плáтье 'dress', genitive plural плáтьев. Two other окнó-*nouns* have the genitive plural ending -*ov*: óблако 'cloud', genitive plural облакóв and сýдно 'vessel', genitive plural судóв (the latter drops the stem-final /n/ in the plural).

The masculine кóсь-*noun*, пýть 'way, path', has the ending -*om*, путём in the instrumental singular. In the instrumental singular, one женá-*noun*, ты́сяча 'thousand', has a кóсь-*type* ending, ты́сячью.

A very few nouns (all with stems ending in a soft consonant) have -*m*, *i* in the instrumental plural. These are людёмí 'with people', детьмí 'with children', and, optionally, лошадьмí 'with horses', дверьмí 'with doors'.

Nouns with stems ending in -*ij*-, have the unstressed ending -*e* in the singular prepositional (and dative of женá-*nouns*) spelled и. For example, Лíдия 'Lydia' Лíдии; гéний 'genius' о гéнии; пéние 'singing' о пéнии.¹

2.1.1.2 Additional endings.

1) The instrumental singular of женá-*nouns* may be extended by the addition of /u/. Thus, 1sg. женóй or женóю. The longer instrumental is not used in colloquial speech, but is restricted to formal written style.

2) A number of inanimate стóл- and кóсь-*nouns* (about eighty in all, perhaps half of which occur with some frequency) have a second prepositional (locative), which is always stressed, used after the prepositions в 'in' and на 'on', when used in locational (i.e., not figurative) meaning; thus, в лесý 'in the forest', but разбирá-ться в лёсе 'be knowledgeable about the forest'. This locative ending is -ý for стóл-*nouns* and -í for кóсь-*nouns*. Such nouns usually have monosyllabic stems; a smaller number have stems of two syllables. None are longer. Some of the more common nouns which possess the second locative include the following:

стóл-*nouns*

Дóн	Don	гла́з	eye	са́д	garden	ве́тер	wind
Кры́м	Crimea	ви́д	view	сне́г	snow	бо́к	side
ми́р	world	го́д	year	ле́с	forest	кра́й	edge, region

кóсь-*nouns*

кóсь	bone	двéрь	door	но́чь	night	пе́чь	oven
------	------	-------	------	-------	-------	-------	------

3) Second genitive in -*u*. A number of стóл-*nouns* have an addi-

tional ending, *-u*, which is used in a partitive (quantitative) sense: стака́н ча́ю 'a glass of tea' vs. цвѣ́т ча́я 'the color of the tea'; мно́го са́хару 'a lot of sugar' vs. це́на са́хара 'the price of sugar'; не́т у́ксусу 'there's no vinegar' vs. вку́с у́ксуса 'the taste of vinegar'.

The genitive *-u* is also sometimes used after prepositions, particularly in certain set phrases: с ча́су на ча́с 'from hour to hour'. Usage in regard to these second endings is likely to vary among speakers.

2.1.1.3 *Distribution of genders.*

All сто́л-nouns are masculine.

All окно́-nouns but подма́стерье 'apprentice' and masculine diminutives in *-išč-* are neuter.

All ко́сть-nouns but one (пу́ть 'road' masculine) are feminine. Most жена́-nouns are feminine, but a small number, mainly consisting of men's names and nicknames (Ники́та 'Nikita', Ко́ля 'Nick') and designations for male kin (дядя́ 'uncle', де́душка 'grandpa') are masculine. Another small group may be either masculine or feminine depending on whether they refer to a male or female person, e.g., пья́ница 'drunkard', сиротá 'orphan'.

Mixed nouns (see 2.1.1.5) are neuter.

2.1.1.4 *Modifications of the noun stem.*

1) Before zero endings (Nsg. of сто́л- and ко́сть-nouns, Gpl. of жена́- and окно́-nouns) and endings which begin with a consonant (Isg. of ко́сть-nouns), an inserted vowel may occur in stems otherwise ending in a sequence of consonants: Укра́инец vs. Gsg. Укра́инца, 'Ukrainian'; любóвь, любóвью vs. Gsg. любви́ 'love'; окно́ vs. Gpl. окно́н or о́кон 'window'; студéнтка vs. Gpl. студéнто́к 'girl student'. The окно́-noun дно́ 'bottom' extends its stem with /j/ (see 4 below) and has inserted *-o-* in *all* plural: Npl. до́нья, Gpl. до́ньев, etc.

2) Addition of palatalization to the stem-final consonant occurs in the plural of two сто́л-nouns, че́рт (also spelled чо́рт) 'devil' and сосéд 'neighbor', and one окно́-noun, ко́лено 'knee'. Thus, Npl. че́рти, сосéди, ко́лени. The ко́сть-noun, це́рковь 'church', loses the palatalization of its stem-final consonant in PDlpl.: о церквáх, церквáм, церквáми.

3) The word че́рт 'devil' also changes its stem vowel from /o/ in the singular to /e/ in the nominative plural: Npl. че́рти. The remaining plural case forms stress the endings: че́ртéй, so the /o~e/ alternation is neutralized in them.

4) Addition of /j/ to form the plural stem. A few стол and окно-nouns add /j/ to the stem in the plural.

Nsg.	Npl.	
бра́т	бра́тья	brother
му́ж	му́жья́	husband
пе́рьо	пе́рья	feather, pen point

It should be noted that all nouns of this type have -a in the Npl. and all but three have -ov in the Gpl. The three exceptions are мужья́ 'husbands', князья́ 'princes', and друзья́ 'friends'. These have the ending zero with inserted vowel -e- in the Gpl. муже́й, князе́й, друзе́й. Items крю́к 'hook' and дру́г 'friend' change the consonant preceding /j/: Npl. друзья́, крjúчья́.

5) Addition of -ov, (e)j- to form the plural stem. Two стол-nouns, сын 'son' and кúм 'godparent', add -ov, (e)j- to the stem in all cases of the plural. The endings in the plural are stressed and the Gpl. has a zero ending with an inserted vowel: N сыновья́, AG сынове́й, P сыновья́х, D сыновья́м, I сыновья́ми.

6) Loss of the suffix -,in- in the plural. A number of стол-nouns, all of which denote members of various nationalities, regional or social groups, etc., have stems terminating in a suffix -,in- which is dropped in the plural. All nouns of this kind have zero as a Gpl. ending. In most of these nouns -,in- is preceded by -an-. In the Npl. the ending is written -e and is -,i (i.e., /i/ with preceding palatalization). The stem is non-palatalized in plural forms other than nominatives.

N	англича́нин	Englishman	англича́не
GA	англича́нина		англича́н
P	англича́нине		англича́нах
D	англича́нину		англича́нам
I	англича́нином		англича́нами

A few nouns of this group do not have -an- preceding -,in-. Thus, боя́рин 'boyar' has a Npl. ending -,i (бо́яре, Gpl. бо́яр, etc.); ба́рин 'lord', тата́рин 'Tatar', and Болга́рин 'Bulgar' have the Npl. ending -i. Thus, Npl. Болга́ры, Gpl. Болга́р, etc. господа́н 'gentleman, Mr., sir' has the Npl. ending -á. Thus, Npl. господа́, Gpl. господа́, etc. хозя́ин 'landlord, owner, host' substitutes in the plural -ov- for the -,in- of the singular. The Npl. ending is unstressed -a. Thus, Npl. хозя́ева, Gpl. хозя́ев, etc.

7) Nouns in -,ón(o)k- ~ -,at-. A number of стол-nouns denoting young humans or animals (e.g., телёно́к 'calf', поросёно́к 'little pig', ребёно́к 'child') have singular stems ending in the suffix

-, *ónk*- (with inserted /o/ in the nominative singular). The plural stem replaces the -, *ón(o)k*- of the singular with -, *at*-. The Npl. ending is unstressed -*a* and the Gpl. is zero.

8) *сúдно*—the *окно́*-noun *сúдно* ‘vessel, ship, bedpan’ drops the final /n/ of the stem in the plural. The Npl. ending is -*a*, the Gpl. -*ov*; thus, Npl. *судá*, Gpl. *судóв*, etc.

9) Addition of suffix -*es*-. Two *окно́*-nouns add a suffix -*es*- to the stem in the plural. These are *чúдо* ‘wonder’, *не́бо* ‘sky, heaven’; thus, NA *чудесá*, G *чудéс*, P *чудеса́х*, D *чудесáм*, I *чудесáми*.

10) Loss of -*ir*,-. The *ко́сть*-nouns *до́чь* ‘daughter’ and *ма́ть* ‘mother’ drop the suffix -*ir*,- in the NAsg. Thus, sg. NA *ма́ть*, GPD *ма́тери*, I *ма́терью*; pl. N *ма́тери*, AG *матерéй*, P *матеря́х*, D *матеря́м*, I *матеря́ми*.

11) Some nouns with stems ending in a palatalized consonant and with inserted vowels lose /, / in the genitive plural: *ба́шня*, Gpl. *ба́шен* ‘tower’.

2.1.1.5 Nouns of mixed declension (stem-final -, *on*,- ~ -, *a*-).

1) Several neuter nouns, the most important of which are *и́мя* ‘name’ and *вре́мя* ‘time’ have *ко́сть*-type endings in all cases of the singular (∅ in NAsg.) but instrumental and *окно́*-type endings in 1sg. and in all cases of the plural. In addition, they lose in the NAsg. final /n,/ of their stem and substitute /-, *a*/ for the vowel preceding it, before the zero ending.

The plural loses palatalization after stem-final /n/.

ко́сть-endings	NA	и́мя			имена́ имён имена́х имена́м имена́ми	
	G					
	P					
	D					
		I	и́менем			
окно-endings		stem-final /-n, /				stem-final /-n /

Note that the plural endings are stressed.

All nouns of this group have stem-final -, *on*,- ~ -, *a*, as above, except for *се́мя* ‘seed’ and *стре́мя* ‘stirrup’ which, for some speakers, have Gpl. *семя́н*, *стремя́н* and thus end in -, *ан*,- (spelled -ен- and pronounced /-, *in*,-/ when unstressed) ~ -, *a*.

2) The neuter noun *дитя́* ‘child’ likewise shows a number of changes of stem and ending type:

			Sg.	Pl.
кóсьть-endings	N	} дитя́	/ď, it, á/	} де́ти
	A			
	G			
	P			
	D	дитя́ти	/ď, it, át, i/	де́тях
				де́тям
же́на'-endings	I	дитя́тей	/ď, it, át, ij/	де́тьми

The stem is NAsg. *d, et, -a-* ~ GPDIs. *d, et, -at, -* ~ pl. *d, et, -*; кóсьть-endings in NAGPDsg., же́на'-endings in Is. and all plural. The singular forms of this noun are little used and ребёнок 'child, baby' is used instead; conversely, the plural of ребёнок, ребята, is little used, except jocularly, 'kids', the usual word for children being де́ти.

2.1.1.6 *Nouns which have plural only (pluralia tantum)*. Russian like many languages (cf. English 'scissors') has a number of words which have plural forms only. As Russian does not distinguish gender in the plural, it is impossible to assign them to any gender category. However, the various endings of the Npl. and Gpl. occur in combinations characteristic of the four noun declensions:

Npl.	Gpl.	
брю́ки	брю́к	trousers
очкí	очко́в	eyeglasses
воро́та	воро́т	gate
кле́щи	кleshéi	tongs, pliers

2.1.1.7 *Indeclinable nouns*. Russian has a fair number (about 250 in common use) of words which do not change form in the various cases, but which must be classed as nouns, because they function syntactically like nouns (i.e., they fill the same positions in sentences as do normal, declined nouns). Such nouns are mostly recent borrowings from foreign languages which end in certain vowels (/u i e/ and stressed /o a, i/). Compare кино́ 'movies', пальто́ 'overcoat', такси́ 'taxi', меню́ 'menu', ра́дио 'radio', ко́фе 'coffee', бю́ро 'office'.

For the most part, indeclinable nouns are of neuter gender, excepting those that refer to male or female beings, which are accordingly masculine or feminine. Other indeclinable nouns are abbreviations which do not make a pronounceable word that fits one of the declensional patterns (e.g., СССР /èsèsér/), certain proper

names (e.g., Живáго, Ткачéнко, Чернýх), and the names of alphabetic letters and musical notes.

2.1.1.8 *Stress in nouns.* The majority of Russian nouns have fixed stress, i.e., the stress stays on the same syllable in all declensional forms. This is particularly true of nouns with stems of three or more syllables. Very few such long nouns have shifting stress.²

Nouns may have stress on the stem (stress on the stem is symbolized S), or on the ending (ending stress is symbolized E). Words with E-stress have stress on the vowel of the ending (on the first vowel of the ending in endings with more than one vowel), except on forms which have a zero ending. In forms with a zero ending and with the 1sg. ending *-ju* of *кóсть*-nouns, E-stress falls on the last vowel of the stem (N.B. with a few exceptions, on the inserted vowel, if one is present).

Examples of nouns with fixed E-stress:

NA	стóл	table	сто́лы	звонóк	bell	звонкí
G	стола́		сто́лов	звонка́		звонко́в
P	столе́		стола́х	звонке́		звонка́х
D	столу́		стола́м	звонку́		звонка́м
I	столо́м		стола́ми	звонко́м		звонка́ми

2.1.1.9 *Stress shift.* Though perhaps a majority of Russian nouns have fixed stress, a very large number show a difference of the position of stress in the various declensional forms. Nouns with stress shift include very many of the most common and frequently used Russian words. As stated before, the vast majority of nouns with shifting stress have stems of one, or less commonly, two syllables. The usual pattern is for all forms of the singular to have stress on one syllable and for the stress to be shifted to another syllable in the plural.

1) Stress patterns in which singular and plural contrast.

ES (ending stress in the singular, stem stress in the plural)—to this group belong many *женá*-nouns and a large number of *окно́*-nouns.

Examples:

	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl.
N	женá	wife	жéны		письмо́	letter	пи́сьма
A	жену́		{ жён		{		{
G	жены́				письма́		пи́сем

P	{	женé	жёнах	письмé	пи́сьмах
D		жёна́м	жёна́м	письму́	пи́сьмам
I		женóй	жёнами	письмо́м	пи́сьмами

SE (stem stress in the singular, ending stress in the plural)—this type characterizes many стóл-nouns and a fair number of окнó-nouns. All стóл-nouns with the ending -а in the Npl. (excepting those that add /j/ or the suffix -,on(o)k- ~ -,at- to the stem in the plural) belong to this class, as do all but one of the mixed declension neuters like íмя.

Examples:

	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl.
NA	до́м	house	дома́		сло́во	word	слова́
G	дома́		домо́в		слова́		сло́в
P	до́ме		дома́х		сло́ве		слова́х
D	до́му		дома́м		сло́ву		слова́м
I	до́мом		дома́ми		сло́вом		слова́ми

	Sg.		Pl.
NA	и́мя	name	имена́
G	}		имён
P			имена́х
D			имена́м
I	и́менем		имена́ми

S → (stress retained on the stem in all forms, but shifted one syllable toward the end of the word in the plural)—nouns with S → stress are a small, not very important group including a few стóл- and окнó-type nouns, and the mixed declension neuter зна́мя 'banner'.

Examples:

	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl.
NA	о́зеро	lake	озёра		ко́лос	ear of grain	коло́сья
G	о́зера		озёр		ко́лоса		коло́сьев
P	о́зере		озёрах		ко́лосе		коло́сьях
D	о́зеру		озёрам		ко́лосу		коло́сьям
I	о́зером		озёрами		ко́лосом		коло́сьями

← S (stress retained on the stem, but shifted toward the beginning in the plural forms)—this type comprises only those стóл-nouns which have the stem suffix -,in- and have the stress on the

suffix, e.g., Nsg. армян^ин, Npl. армя^не, 'Armenian'. An exception is росо^ди́н 'Mr., sir' which has SE-stress.

2) Stress patterns in which stress shifts within the singular and/or plural forms—we call such stress patterns "mixed," symbolized M.

Singular mixed pattern: stem stress on the accusative singular (and on the nominative singular if it is identical in form with accusative singular); all other cases have ending stress. Plural mixed pattern: stem stress on the nominative plural (and on the accusative plural if it is identical in form with the nominative plural); all other cases have ending stress. The number of nouns with mixed stress patterns is small, but they include a few nouns of very frequent usage.

SM (stem stress in singular, mixed stress in plural)—this group includes a fair number of сто́л- and ко́сть-nouns; also the stem-changing neuters око́ 'eye' and у́хо 'ear'.

Examples:

	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl.
NA	ка́мень	stone	ка́мни		две́рь	door	две́ри
G	ка́мня		камне́й				двере́й
P	ка́мне		камя́х		{	две́ри	дверя́х
D	ка́мню		камня́м				дверя́м
I	ка́мнем		ка́мнями			дверю́	дверя́ми

EM (ending stress in singular, mixed stress in plural)—a few жена́-type nouns, three or four сто́л-nouns and one окно́-noun (плече́ 'shoulder') are included in this group.

	Sg.		Pl.		Sg.		Pl.		
N	свеча́	candle	{	свечи́	ко́нь	horse	ко́ни		
A	свечу́			свече́й	{	ко́ня	{	коней́	
G	свечи́			свеча́х				коня́х	
P	{	свече́		свеча́м				конё́	коня́м
D				свеча́ми				коню́	коня́ми
I	свече́й			конём					

MS (mixed stress in singular, stem stress in plural) occurs as an alternate pattern in a few жена́-nouns.

ME (mixed stress in singular, ending stress in plural) includes three сто́л-nouns: у́гол 'corner', у́зел 'knot', у́горь 'eel'.

MM (mixed stress in both singular and plural) includes a small group of жена́-nouns.

	Sg.		Pl.
N	рукá	hand	{ рýки
A	руку		{ рýк
G	рукí		рукáх
P	{ руке		рукáм
D			рукáми
I	рукóй		

A very few nouns (about fifteen) which have stem stress in the plural, change stem stress to ending stress in the genitive plural. In most of these nouns the ending in that form (Gpl.) is zero, so that this entails a further automatic shift from zero ending to stem-final syllable.

Npl.	Gpl.	
дéти	детéй	children
лю́ди	людéй	people
о́вци	ове́ц	sheep
ко́льца	коле́ц	rings

It should be borne in mind that there is some variation in usage in regard to stress patterns. The patterns SE and ES, to which the vast majority of nouns with shifting stress belong, tend to spread at the expense of the less common mixed ones.

A good rule of thumb to remember is that *женá*-nouns tend to shift stress from ending to stem (ES), *сто́л*- and *ко́сть*-nouns from stem to ending (SE, SM), while *окно́*-nouns shift in both directions (SE, ES).

The locative endings *-ú*, *-i* are *always* stressed, without regard to what type of noun it occurs with. The Isg. ending *-ju* of *ко́сть*-nouns is never stressed, stress falling on the syllable preceding it, if the word in question has E-stress.

Masculine nouns with the endings *-á* in the nominative plural always have E-stress in all cases of the plural, except for the few nouns denoting inanimate beings whose stems add /j/ in the plural and nouns with the suffix *-,on(o)k- ~ ,at-*. For example, *лесá* 'forest', *учíteль*: *учите́лђ* 'teacher', *му́ж*: *мужёђ* 'husband', *but* *крёк*: *крёчёђ* 'hook', *телёнок*: *теля́та* 'calf'.

2.1.2 Adjectives

The adjective has the most complete array of forms of any nominal word; the true adjective has case forms in all three genders and both numbers. A particular gender is not inherent in the adjective

as it is in the noun. Rather, the gender form of the adjective (as well as its case and number) is typically determined by the noun to which it is attributed or otherwise in agreement. Exceptionally, when an adjective occupies a syntactic noun slot, its case, like that of the noun, is determined by its syntactic function, and its gender and number by other factors, e.g., its referent in the external world. Certain items traditionally called pronouns, e.g., possessive modifiers, demonstratives, etc. (2.1.2.4) are properly classified as adjectives, since both in their array of forms and in their syntactic function they correspond more closely to the adjective than to the pronoun.

2.1.2.1 *Comments on the adjective and its endings.* Adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in regard to case, number (singular or plural), and in the singular also in regard to gender (masculine, neuter, or feminine). The adjective has but one form in each case of the plural, gender being distinguished only in the singular. In the masculine accusative and plural accusative, the form used is that of the nominative or genitive, depending on whether the noun modified is inanimate or animate.

Full declension adjectives (i.e., those not of mixed declension, see 2.1.2.4), except for their short forms (treated in 2.1.2.3) have fixed stress either on the stem or on the first vowel of the ending. Stems ending in a palatalized consonant have only stem stress.

When the ending is stressed, the masculine singular nominative ending is *-ój*. Unstressed, many speakers have the regular replacement /*aj*/, but many others, following the spelling, replace it with *-ij*. The spelling is stressed *-ой*; unstressed *-ый ~ -ий*.

In the genitive singular masculine and neuter adjective endings there is the spelling *-oro ~ -ero*, irregular in that *r* here always represents the sound /*v*/, the ending being *-ovo*. The neuter NA ending *-ojo* is spelled *-oe ~ -ee*. The final unstressed vowel of this ending, morphophonemically *-ojo*, is realized by some speakers as /*a*/ and by others as /*i*/, in accord with the statement in section 1.2.5.³ Likewise, as many speakers pronounce the nominative plural ending (spelled *-ые ~ -ие*) as /*ija*/ rather than the currently prescribed /*iji*/, we transcribe this ending morphophonemically *-ijo*, recording the same individual variation in the rendition of the final unstressed vowel.

As in *женá*-nouns, in the adjective the feminine instrumental has a variant which extends the normal ending by adding /*u*/ . This variant is used in some formal and written styles (e.g., feminine instrumental *худо́й ~ худо́ю; похо́жей ~ похо́жею*, etc.).

TABLE 3. ADJECTIVE ENDINGS

Endings		Stressed Endings	Unstressed Endings	Stems in /ž ž/		Stems in C.	Stems in velar /k g x/ (become palatalized before initial <i>i</i> of endings)
Sg.		bad, thin	old	similar	big	summer	brotherly
NAn	-ojo	худое	старое	похожее	большое	лётнее	братское
Nm	-oj ~ -ij	худой	старый	похожий	большой	лётный	братский
Am	inan. like N anim. like G	~	~	~	~	~	~
Gm/n	-ovo	худого	старого	похожего	большого	лётного	братского
Pm/n	-om	худом	старом	похожем	большом	лётном	братском
Dm/n	-omu	худому	старому	похожему	большому	лётному	братскому
Im/n	-im	худым	старым	похожим	большим	лётным	братским
Nf	-oja	худая	старая	похожая	большая	лётная	братская
Af	-uju	худую	старую	похожую	большую	лётную	братскую
GPDif	-oj	худой	старой	похожей	большой	лётней	братской
Pl.							
N	-ijo	худые	старые	похожие	большие	лётные	братские
A	inan. like N anim. like G	~	~	~	~	~	~
GP	-ixa	худых	старых	похожих	больших	лётных	братских
D	-im	худым	старым	похожим	большим	лётным	братским
I	-im, i	худыми	старыми	похожими	большими	лётными	братскими

In the case of stems ending in /š ž/, the spelling of endings with -и represents, of course, a pronunciation /i/, not /, i/.

2.1.2.2 *Substantivized adjectives.* Some words which function syntactically as nouns have adjective endings. For example, портно́й 'tailor' has adjective forms (masculine forms in the singular; note that there is a separate word портни́ха with noun endings, to designate a female tailor), or насеко́мое 'insect' (neuter adjective forms in the singular).

Ко́шка боя́лась насеко́мого. The cat was afraid of the insect.

Some family names, such as those containing the suffix /-sk-/, have adjectival form. For example, Толсто́й 'Tolstoy', Чайко́вский 'Tchaikovsky'; Я ви́дел Толсто́го 'I saw Tolstoy', Мы говори́ли о Чайко́вском 'We talked about Tchaikovsky'.

2.1.2.3 *Short adjective endings.* Short adjective endings are the same as noun endings (masculine сто́л, neuter окно́, feminine жена́).

Many adjectives, in addition to their normal long forms, have a set of nominative short forms, which are used only predicatively (sometimes with a slightly different meaning nuance). Such short forms often have a different stress from the corresponding long forms.

If the long forms stress the stem, the same stress may be retained in the short forms:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural	
краси́вый	краси́в	краси́во	краси́ва	краси́вы	beautiful
кре́пкий	кре́пок	кре́пко	кре́пка	кре́пки	strong

Very frequently the ending will be stressed in the feminine short form and the stem in the remainder of the forms; if the stem is disyllabic and stressed on the second syllable in the long form, stress will be shifted to the first syllable of the non-feminine short forms:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural	
холо́дный	хо́лоден	хо́лодно	холоднá	хо́лодны	cold
сла́бый	сла́б	сла́бо	слаба́	сла́бы	weak

Less frequently, the short forms have ending stress in all forms:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural	
у́мный	умён	умно́	умна́	умны́	clever
высо́кий	высо́к	высоко́	высока́	высоки́	high

If the long forms stress the ending, the short forms usually show ending stress in the feminine, with stem stress (on initial syllable) in the remaining forms:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural	
молодѳй	мѳлод	мѳлодо	молодѳ	мѳлоды	young

However, less frequently, the short forms may all retain ending stress:

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural	
болѳной	бѳлен	болѳно	болѳнѳ	болѳны	sick

The current tendency favors the increasing use of the full forms at the expense of the short forms.

The short adjective forms are used only as a part of the predicate (i.e., separated from the noun they modify by some form of the verb бѳть, including its zero present), while the full forms can be used both predicatively and attributively (i.e., directly with the nouns they modify).

2.1.2.4 Mixed adjective declension. This declension has short noun-like endings in the NA (except when the A is like the G, i.e., when modifying animate nouns); long endings in the remaining forms. Except for those with special adjective ending stress (see below), mixed declension adjectives have fixed stem stress.

The mixed adjective declension includes the following items:

1) Possessive adjectives in *-in-* and *-ov-*. There are a few adjectives in common use made by adding the suffix *-in-* to the stems of женѳ-nouns. These adjectives are derived from personal names or kinship terms and indicate possession: Кѳля 'Nick', Кѳлин 'Nick's'. There are also similar adjectives made by adding the suffix *-ov-* to the stems of стѳл-nouns, but they are rare and archaic: царѳ 'czar' → царѳв 'of the czar'.

		masc.	neuter	fem.	plural
short	N	тѣтин aunt's	{ тѣтино	тѣтина	тѣтины
	A	(like N or G)		тѣтину	(like N or G)
long	G	тѣтиногo	{ тѣтиной	{ тѣтиных	
	P	(o) тѣтином			
	D	тѣтиному			
	I	тѣтиным			
				тѣтиным	
				тѣтиными	

2) J-stem adjectives (with inserted /,i/ in Nsg.m.) include only the ordinal number трéтий 'third' and a few possessives derived from designations for animals or persons: ры́бий 'fish's', вдо́вий 'widow's'. These adjectives have an inserted vowel /,i/ in the masculine nominative and a stem terminating in /j/: *tr,et(,i)j-*.

	masc.	neuter	fem.	plural
N	трéтий	{ трéтье	трéтья	трéтьи
A	(like N or G)		трéтью	(like N or G)
G	трéтьего	{	трéтьей	{ трéтьих
P	(o) трéтьем			
D	трéтьему			
I	трéтьим			

3) The possessive modifiers: на́ш, ва́ш, мо́й, тво́й, сво́й, че́й (stem *čj-*; inserted /e/ in nominative sg. masc.)—all except на́ш and ва́ш have special adjective ending stress. That is, they stress the last (or only) syllable of the ending excepting in the Ipl. and the alternate Isg. fem., where they stress the first syllable of the ending. Words with palatalized stem-final consonant (here /j/) and special adjective ending stress take the ending -éj- (alternate Isg. fem. -éju-) in the GPD Isg. fem. (rather than the expected -oj-).

4) The pronominal adjectives cáм, оди́н, э́тот, то́т, ве́сь present the following peculiarities (see the table of declensions opposite):

(a) All but э́тот have special adjective ending stress: cáм retracts stress to the stem in the Npl. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, -ej- occurs after a palatalized consonant in conjunction with ending stress (in ве́сь).

(b) In the Nsg. masc., оди́н and ве́сь have inserted vowel /,i/ and /e/, while э́тот and то́т extend their stem by /-ot-/.

(c) In the forms where the ending normally begins with /i/ (Isg. masc. and neuter and all plural forms), the stem-final consonant is palatalized (except for ве́сь, where it is palatalized in *all* forms) and in то́т and ве́сь, /e/ is substituted for /i/ in those endings.

(d) cáм has an archaic alternate Asg. fem. *camoë*, besides the more usual *camý*.

5) Family names in -ov- and -in- are declined as adjectives except that the masc. has short endings in all forms but the I, the fem. has short endings in NA, and the plural in N (there is, of course, no neuter in such names).

TABLE 4. DECLENSION OF *этот, тот, один, весь, сам*

один, весь have inserted vowel; <i>et-, t-</i> have stem extension <i>-ot-</i>		STEMS: <i>et- odn- sam-</i> <i>t- vs, -</i>		тот, весь have /e/ as initial vowel of ending. STEMS: <i>et-, odn-,</i> <i>t-, vs-, sam-,</i> (palatalized stem-final C)	
masculine	neuter	feminine		plural	
<i>этот один тот весь сам</i>	<i>это одно то всё самó</i>	<i>эта одна та вся сама́</i>		<i>эти одни́ те все́ сами</i>	N
N ~ G		<i>эту одну́ ту́ всю́ саму́ (самоё)</i>		N ~ G	A
<i>этого одного́ всего́ тогó самогó</i>		<i>этой одной то́й все́й самой</i>		<i>этих одних тёх все́х самих</i>	G
<i>этом однимъ все́м то́м самóм</i>					P
<i>этому одному́ все́му́ тому́ самóму</i>				<i>этим однимъ тём все́м самимъ</i>	D
<i>этим однимъ самимъ тём все́м</i>		----- <i>(этой одно́ю то́ю все́ю само́ю)*</i>		<i>этими одними́ тёми все́ми самими́</i>	I

*alternate forms

The forms *íx*, *ím*, *ими* are pronounced by some /j^híx, j^hím, j^hím, i/, but by most speakers without the initial /j/ (but with initial /, i/). When a pronoun is the object of a preposition, /n,/ replaces the initial /j/ of the pronoun (or is prefixed to /, íx, , ím, , ím, i/). Thus, G *eró*, but *y neró*; I *ими*, but *c ними*. The prepositional form, which always occurs as object of a preposition, is given in the above table with initial /n,./

The third person possessive modifiers, *eró* 'his, its', *eě* 'her, its', *ix* 'their', are the genitive of the personal pronouns and are, of course, indeclinable. The remaining possessive modifiers, *мой*, *твой*, *свой*, *наш*, *ваш*, and *чей*, are mixed declension adjectives.

2.1.3.2 *Interrogative pronouns.*

N	кто́	что́ /štó/
A	кого́ /kavó/	что́
G	кого́	чего́ /čivó/
P	ком	чем
D	кому́	чему́
I	кем	чем

The interrogative pronouns, like other interrogative words (adverbs, adjectives) combine with certain affixes and particles which add a meaning component (e.g., negative *n, i-*, indefinite *-to*); thus *никто́* 'no one' *кто́-то* 'someone' (cf. *нигде́* 'nowhere' etc.).

In terms of agreement with its predicate, *кто́* is masc. sg. and *что́* is neuter sg. *Кто́* refers to living beings; *что́* to inanimate items.

2.1.3.3 *A note on pronoun stems and endings.* The first and second person pronouns have suppletive forms. The third person personal pronouns have the endings of the mixed adjective declension with special ending stress (and the fem. I ending *-ěj-* after a palatalized consonant). The only exception is the GA of the feminine pronoun (*eě*). Genitive and accusative personal pronoun forms are identical, since pronouns usually refer to animate entities. The stem of the third person personal pronouns shows suppletion. It is *on-* in the Nsg., *on,-* in Npl.; in the non-nominative forms it is *j-* before endings beginning with *e* or *o* and /, / before endings beginning with *i* (or for some speakers /j/ before such endings), with /j/ and /, / being replaced by /n,/ when the pronoun is object of a preposition, as explained above.

The interrogative pronouns have in the oblique cases the mixed adjective endings of the masculine-neuter, with special ending

stress, and like *tót* and *běcъ* substitute /e/ for /i/ in the instrumental. *krót*, designating animates, has A like G; *čtót*, designating inanimates, has A like N. The stem of *krót* is *k-*; of *čtót*, *č-*. In the nominative forms, both have, in place of a regular ending, the extension *-to* before which /č → š/ (cf. similar sporadic change of /č/ to /š/ in other items, e.g., *koněčno*, which is /kan.ěšna/ for many speakers).

2.1.4 The Numerals

In Russian, the numeral is a separate grammatical category. All nouns which denote a numerical quantity or order do not belong to it. Thus, grammatically speaking, such words as тысяча 'thousand', миллион 'million' (which are nouns), and один 'one', первый 'first', and второй 'second' (which are adjectives) do not belong grammatically to the numeral class. Numerals distinguish at least some case endings, but do not distinguish singular versus plural (since by definition they refer only to plural quantities) and with few exceptions do not distinguish gender.

The declensions of the numerals are as follows:

	two	three	four
N	два́ m.n., две́ f.	три́	четы́ре
A	(like N or G)	(like N or G)	(like N or G)
GP	двѹх	трѣх	четырёх
D	двѹм	трѣм	четырем
I	двумѣ	трёмѣ	четырьмѣ

Note the peculiar endings and stress pattern of *óða* 'both':

	m.n.	f.
N	оба	обе
A	(like N or G)	
GP	обо́их	обе́их
D	обо́им	обе́им
I	обо́ими	обе́ими

The cases other than NA of *оба* in colloquial style have no separate feminine forms, the masculine and neuter forms being used in their stead. The numerals *два́*, *три́*, *четы́ре*, and *оба́*, like adjectives, have in the accusative a form identical with the genitive when modifying or designating animates, but identical with the nominative when modifying or designating inanimates.

5 пѣть	11 одѣннаѣцѣть	17 семнѣцѣть
6 шѣсть	12 двенѣцѣть	18 восемнѣцѣть
7 сѣмь	13 тринѣцѣть	19 девѣтнѣцѣть
8 вѣсемь	14 четѣьрнѣцѣть	20 двѣцѣть
9 дѣвѣть	15 пятнѣцѣть	30 трѣцѣть
10 дѣсѣть	16 шестнѣцѣть /šisnācat, /	

The numerals from five to twenty and the numeral трѣцѣть 'thirty' have the singular endings of the кѣсть-nouns and stress pattern M (stem stress in the N and A, ending stress in the remaining cases). Note that in the numeral the ending -*ju* is stressed. The numeral вѣсемь 'eight' has an inserted vowel.

Example:

NA	дѣвѣть	вѣсемь
GPD	дѣвѣтѣ	вѣсьмѣ
I	дѣвѣтью	вѣсьмѣю <i>от</i> вѣсьмѣю

The numerals сѣрок 'forty', девѣнѣсто 'ninety', and стѣ 'hundred' have the following declension:

NA	сѣрок	девѣнѣсто	стѣ
GPD	сѣрокѣ	девѣнѣста	стѣ

In девѣнѣсто there is a spelling change only.

The numerals 50, 60, 70, 80, are compound.

50

NA	пятѣдѣсѣт	/p.idd.is,āt/
GPD	пятѣдѣсѣтѣ	/p.it,id.is,it,i/
I	пятѣюдѣсѣтью	/p.itjūd.is,itjū/

60

NA	шѣстьдѣсѣт	/šizd.is,āt/
GPD	шѣстьдѣсѣтѣ	
I	шѣстьюдѣсѣтью	

70

80

NA	сѣмьдѣсѣт	вѣсемьдѣсѣт
GPD	сѣмьдѣсѣтѣ	вѣсьмьдѣсѣтѣ
I	сѣмьюдѣсѣтью	вѣсьмьюдѣсѣтью

Note the hard C in the NA and the stress shifts.

200 to 900

200	двѣсти	300	трѣста
-----	--------	-----	--------

400	четы́реста	700	семьсо́т
500	пятьсо́т	800	восемьсо́т
600	шестьсо́т	900	девятьсо́т

The foregoing numerals are also compound and decline both parts:

NA	двѐсти	три́ста
G	двухсо́т	трѐхсо́т
P	двухста́х	трѐхста́х
D	двумста́м	трѐмста́м
I	двумяста́ми	тремяста́ми

Note the plural-like forms of сто́ in the cases other than NA. Note too that in the cases other than NA, both parts are stressed.

Other compound numerals have stress on each part and decline each part.

27	два́дцать се́мь	118	сто́ восемна́дцать
53	пятьдеся́т три́	246	двѐсти со́рок ше́сть

с двадцатью семью́ ко́шками	with 27 cats
пятидеся́ти трѐм же́нам	to 53 wives
в ста́ восемна́дцати дома́х	in 118 houses
для́ двухсо́т сорока́ шести́ студѐнтов	for 246 students

The special numeral, полтора́ 'one and a half', has three forms:

	m/n.	f.
NA	полтора́	полу́торы, (полторы́)
GPDI	полу́тора	

полтора́ is also sometimes combined with other numeral expressions, e.g., полтора́ста: 150.

пол- ~ полу- 'half' must also be considered a numeral, since, like два́, три́, etc., it requires in NA that the noun accompanying it be in Gsg. and modifying adjectives in the Npl., while in the remaining cases the noun is in the appropriate case (of the singular) and agrees with it. It has but two forms: NA пол- and the remaining cases полу- or полу́-. The spelling requires that пол be written together with the following noun (a hyphen is inserted if the noun begins with /l/ or a vowel (letter)); however, пол- retains secondary stress.

NA	по́лчасá	half hour
G	полу́часá	
P	полу́часе	
D	полу́часу	
I	полу́часом	

The items *пóлдень* 'midday' and *пóлночь* 'midnight' form an exception to the above statements, in that in the NA, *дéнь* and *но́чь* retain their NA forms. There is but one stress in the compound, which in the non-NA forms falls on the /u/ of *полу́-*; i.e., *полу́дня*, *полу́ночи*, etc.

In some items optional variants with undeclined *пол* in all cases occur.

2.1.4.1 *Collective numerals.* A special set of collective numerals exists from two to ten.

2	двóе	5	пýтерo	8	вóсьмерo
3	трóе	6	шéстерo	9	дéвятерo
4	чéтвeрo	7	сéмерo	10	дéсятeрo

Like other numerals, the collectives do not distinguish gender or number. In the N they have an ending characteristic of the *окнó-*nouns (*-o*), while in the GPDI they have plural adjective endings. The A is like N or G depending on whether they accompany a noun denoting a living being. An example of collective numeral declension follows:

N	двóе	чéтвeрo
A	(like N or G)	
GP	двóйх	чeтвeрýх
D	двóйм	чeтвeрýм
I	двóймн	чeтвeрýмн

Note the stress pattern: Shift from stem in N(A) to ending in the remaining cases.

2.2 THE FORMATION OF ADVERBS

2.2.1 Non-derived adverbs

Some adverbs are not derived from other classes of words; such are unsuffixed and consist either of a single root morpheme or compounds of more than one morpheme:

бóчень	very	
вслéд	<i>v-sl,ed</i>	following, thereupon

2.2.2 Adverbs formed with suffix *-o*

Many adverbs are derived from adjectives by addition of the suffix *-o* to the adjective stem.

хорóш	well	cf. хорóший
похóже	similarly	cf. похóжий
блестя́ще	sparklingly	cf. participle блестя́щий

In the overwhelming majority of cases such derived adverbs have the same accent as the neuter short form of the source adjective if such exists or of the long form of the adjective if no short form exists. However, there are adverbs distinguished by place of stress on the corresponding adjective:

мертвó in a dead manner cf. adjective мёртво
 светлó brightly cf. adjective свётло

2.2.3 Adverbs formed with suffix *-i*

A lesser number of adverbs are derived by the addition of the suffix *-i* to the adjective stem, usually, but not always, in conjunction with the prefix *по-*.

по-собáчы	in a doglike manner	cf. собáчий	dog's
по-дéтски	in a childish way	cf. дéтский	childish
по-ру́сски	in Russian	cf. ру́сский	Russian
мастерскí	skilfully	cf. мастерскóй	masterly
молодéцки	heroically	cf. молодéцкий	heroic
исторíчески	historically	cf. исторíческий	historic
нёсши	having carried (gerund)	cf. participle нёсший	

2.2.4 Adverbs formed with other devices

There are a few other suffixes used to form adverbs from stems of other word classes, such as *-(a)ǝdi* added to the stems of numerals less than five (and *od(,i)n-* 'one'): одна́жды 'once', два́жды 'twice'; but these are not productive, as are the suffixes *-o* and *-i* mentioned above.

Adverbs or adverbial expressions are also formed through petrified prepositional phrases or oblique case forms of nouns. Thus, по-мо́ему 'in my opinion' (distinguished from the source phrase по моему́ by shifted stress), верхóм 'on horseback' (cf. ве́рхом, instrumental sg. of ве́рх 'top, peak'), кругóм 'all around' (cf. крýгом, instrumental sg. of крýг 'circle') and сперва́ 'first' (from the preposition *с* plus an obsolete genitive case form of the adjective пе́рвый).

2.3 THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

2.3.1 The comparative of the adjective

A very few adjectives have an attributive comparative (i.e., one used as a modifier of a noun phrase head) consisting of a single

word. All of these form their comparatives by the addition of regular adjective endings to stems, most of which differ in some irregular way from the stem of the positive and all of which contain the stem extension -š-.

хоро́ший	good	лучший	luč-š-
плохóй	bad	{ худший	xud-š-
худóй	thin		
мáлый	little	мéньший	m, en, -š-
большóй	big	бóльший	bol, -š- (same stem; shift of stress)

In this group too belong the special comparatives of старýй 'old' and молодóй 'young'; старший 'senior' (in age or rank), and млáдший 'junior' (in age or rank); comparative stems *star-š-*, *mlad-š-*.

All other adjectives make their attributive comparative by a construction combining the adverb бóлее /ból, ij/ 'more' with the positive form of the adjective.

бóлее нóвый дóм a newer house

A large number of adjectives have, in addition, a short indeclinable predicate comparative made by the addition of certain suffixes to the stem.⁴ These include the following:

1) -ejo-, spelled -ee. The final unstressed vowel is realized by some speakers as /a/, by others as /i/, in accordance with the morphophonemic rules of vowel replacement discussed in section 1.2.5; in colloquial speech often abbreviated to /ej-/ (and sometimes spelled -ей). If the feminine short form ending is stressed, this comparative suffix is stressed upon its first vowel. Otherwise, the stress of the positive is retained. Stem-final velar consonant undergoes J-change before this suffix; other consonants are automatically palatalized before it.

fem. short form		comparative
новá	new	новéе
веселá	gay, happy	веселéе
красíва	beautiful	красíвее
старá	old	старéе

2) -o-, spelled -e and pronounced as /a~i/. This suffix is never stressed; stress always falls on the immediately preceding syllable. Before it, stem-final consonant undergoes J-change, if susceptible to such change; otherwise it undergoes palatalization. The principal adjectives making the comparative in this fashion

follow:

дорого́й	dear	доро́же
стро́гий	strict	стро́же
молодо́й	young	моло́же
бога́тый	rich	бога́че
густо́й	thick	гу́ше
просто́й	simple	про́ше
ча́стый	frequent	ча́ше
чи́стый	clean	чи́ше
ти́хий	quiet	ти́ше
кре́пкий	strong, firm	кре́пче
гро́мкий	loud	гро́мче
лёгкий	light	лёгче
мя́гкий	soft	мя́гче
сухо́й	dry	су́ше
жа́ркий	hot	жа́рче
я́ркий	bright	я́рче
го́рький	bitter	го́рче
■мё́лкий	shallow, small	ме́льче
дешё́вый	cheap	дешё́вле

Some adjectives drop a final /g/, /k/, or /ok/ from the stem before subjecting the final consonant to J-change and adding -o to form the short comparative.

высо́кий	high	вы́ше
широ́кий	broad	ши́ре
ни́зкий	low	ни́же
у́зкий	narrow	у́же
бли́зкий	near	бли́же
коро́ткий	short	коро́че
ре́дкий	rare	ре́же

поздний 'late' drops stem-final /n,/ before the suffix; thus, позже. Alternately, the suffix -ejo is added to the full stem позднее. A few adjectives add -š- before the suffix (with palatalization of the preceding /n/ or /l/).

ра́нный	early	ра́ньше
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Some first drop /k g ok/ and then add -š-.

далёкий	far	да́льше
то́нкий	thin	то́ньше
до́лгий	long	до́льше

The adjective глубо́кий 'deep' has the predicate comparative глۇ́бже, which apparently represents the dropping of /ok/ and an

irregular progressive assimilation of -š- to the preceding voiced consonant.

All adjectives with one-word attributive comparatives mentioned above, except плохой and худой, have predicative comparatives with the suffix -о.

лучший	better	лучше
меньший	smaller	меньше
большой	bigger	больше
старший	senior	старше
младший	junior	младше

The predicative comparative of худой 'bad' is хуже (J-change plus -о). The predicative comparative of худой 'thin' is худее (-ејо).

The introductory material to D. N. Ušakov's dictionary (толковый словарь русского языка, Vol. I, Moscow, 1935-40, reprint ACLS) contains a complete list of comparatives in -о.

2.3.2 Comparative of adverbs

The above described short predicative adjective comparatives are basically (and historically) adverbial forms whose function has been extended to adjectival predicate complement. Hence, they also serve as comparatives of the corresponding adverbs. Further, most adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix -о may have a comparative construction with более analogous to the attributive comparative construction of adjectives.

The variants более, больше 'more', comparative of много 'much, very', the adverb corresponding to большой 'big', and менее, меньше 'less', comparative of the adverb мало 'little', show this distinction—больше, меньше occur only as heads of an adverb phrase D, while более, менее occur primarily as attributes to another adverb or adjective.

Он будет больше думать и	He'll think more and
меньше говорить	talk less
более интересный	more interesting
менее трудный	less difficult

2.3.3 The superlative of the adjective

1) The superlative in Russian is expressed by a construction involving the positive form of the adjective preceded by the adjective самый.

самая новая книга	the newest book
самый старый стол	the oldest table

With хоро́ший, плохóй, ма́ленький, and большóй, the superlative may be formed by using the comparative rather than the positive in construction with са́мый. Thus:

са́мый хоро́ший	or	са́мый лу́чший	the best
са́мое большóе		са́мое бо́льшее	the biggest

2) The superlative may also be expressed by the adverb наибóлее plus the positive form (either long or short form, if predicative).

наибóлее вражде́бные племена́	the most hostile tribes
Этот вопро́с наибóлее ва́жен.	This question is the most important.

This is a more bookish form than the preceding.

3) Finally, there may be formed, in the colloquial language, a predicative superlative consisting of the short predicate comparative plus *всего́, всех* 'of all':

Этот вопро́с ва́жнее <i>всех</i> !	This question is the most important.
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2.3.4 The superlative of the adverbs

The superlative of the adverb is not frequently encountered. It can be formed in two ways, corresponding to the last two types of adjective comparative above: (1) By placing наибóлее 'most' before the positive form (наибóлее обыкнове́нно 'most usual'), or (2) by placing *всего́, всех* 'of all' after the short comparative forms (Лу́чше *всего́* он говори́т по-ру́сски 'He speaks Russian best of all').

2.3.5 Other forms related to the comparative and superlative

The prefix *по-* is sometimes added to the short comparative, in which case the meaning is 'a bit more . . . , a little more . . .' either as a predicate adjective or as an adverb.

постаре́е	a bit older
похолоднóе	a little colder

The superlative prefix *наи-* is added to бо́льший, бо́лее, ме́нший, ме́нее, вы́сший, лу́чший, and rarely to certain other adjectives and adverbs. These forms are not in colloquial use, but are bookish.

The prefix *пре-* added to the positive form of an adjective or adverb expresses the meaning 'very, extremely'. It too is bookish.

пребольшóй	very big
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The suffix *-ejš-* added to the stem of the positive form makes declinable adjectives (with no short form) with the meaning 'very, extremely'.

The suffix is stressed under the same conditions (see section 2.3.1) that apply to the suffix *-ejo-* of the short comparative, namely if the feminine short form of the positive has the ending stressed.

но́вый	new	нове́йший
интерéсный	interesting	интерéснейший

If the stem of the positive form ends in /k, g, x/, J-change takes place and the form of the suffix is */-ajš-/*.

высо́кий	high	высоча́йший
стро́гий	strict	строжа́йший
ти́хий	quiet	тиша́йший

Forms with this suffix are essentially bookish and not characteristic of colloquial usage. Adverbs with this suffix plus the suffix *-o* exist, but are again essentially bookish:

строжа́йше	most strictly
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2.4 THE VERB

The class of verbs is defined as those words which occur with those inflectional suffixes (endings and formants) listed in section 2.4.1. The verb paradigm contains both finite (inflected) forms, such as the present tense, and non-finite (uninflected) forms, such as the infinitive. Another dichotomy is between true verbal forms, which can function in the verb slot of the simple sentence (i.e., the present-future tense, the past tense, and the imperative) versus quasi-verbal forms which may simultaneously fulfill syntactic functions characteristic of both true verbs and other word classes (i.e., participles are verbal adjectives, gerunds are verbal adverbs, the infinitive has various nominal functions, etc.). When inflected, quasi-verbs take adjective (participles) or noun (the verbal noun) endings. The infinitive alone sometimes functions marginally in the verb slot of the simple sentence; the syntactic function of the quasi-verbs is discussed in section 3.4.

The true verbal forms, except for the imperative, which neutralizes tense, manifest the tense distinction present-future (or non-past, the semantically unmarked category) versus past. The present versus future distinction within the non-past is discussed in section 2.5. The quasi-verbal participles and adjectives also manifest the present (non-past) versus past distinction. However, in

this case present versus past signifies not "simultaneous with" versus "prior to" the moment of speaking (as in the finite verb forms), but "simultaneous with" versus "prior to" the time of action indicated by the tense of the main verb. The present-future tense forms manifest the categories of person (as in the pronouns) and number. The past tense forms (which historically were participles) manifest the categories gender and number. The imperative manifests number only; tense and person are neutralized, though usually the imperative refers only to the addressee, the second person; hortatory forms for other persons are supplied by constructions or special forms.

Not every verb has a full array of forms. Some lack one or another of the participles or gerunds (passive participles occur only in transitive verbs; present participles and gerunds in imperfective verbs; past participles and gerunds typically, but not exclusively, in perfective verbs), while some verbs ("impersonal verbs") appear only in the third person singular, maximally unmarked with respect to indication of actor. A complete array of verb forms includes the following:

1) Present-future form group:

all present-future (pres-fut.) tense forms

the present active and present passive participles (pres. act.

part., pres. pass. part.)

imperative (imp.)

present gerund (pres. ger.)

Note that not all forms of the present-future group manifest the tense category.

2) Infinitive form group:

infinitive (inf.)

all past tense forms (past)

past gerund

past active participle (past act. part.)

past passive participle (past pass. part.)

verbal noun (vb. n.)

Russian verbs are divided into two conjugations (I and II) which have different endings in the present-future tense and different formants in the present participles; the conjugation distinction is neutralized in the remaining forms. First conjugation verbs are much more numerous than second conjugation verbs.

The Russian verb stems, to which the formants and/or endings are attached, undergo various changes described below. When a verb shows any change of stem, usually one alternate occurs with the present-future group and the other with the infinitive group.

Most importantly, verb stems can be divided into those which in the present-future form group drop the final stem formative vowel suffix (hereafter termed "stem vowel") of the infinitive form group and those which maintain a substantially stable stem in both form groups. Stem vowel dropping verbs include all second conjugation and many first conjugation verbs. Stable stem verbs of the first conjugation include verbs with a stable stem vowel (-*a-* or -*e-*) in the present-future form group and in the infinitive group as well as "root verbs" whose stems consist of a root morpheme without stem vowel extension. The root may end in consonant or vowel, but verbs whose stable stem ends in a vowel (whether it be a root-final vowel or a stem vowel) automatically add a /j/ (~ /v/ after /Ci/) in the present-future form group, as described in section 2.4.3.

The constituents and forms of the Russian verb are discussed below. Endings and formants (2.4.1) are first given, followed by a listing of stem types (2.4.2) divided by conjugation and assigned a numbering system correlated with the examples in the sample paradigms (Table V) and the table illustrating stress variation (Table VI). Then, stem suffixes (2.4.4) and stem-final vowel extensions (stem vowels) are listed (2.4.5). Morphophonemic changes affecting stem-final consonants (2.4.6) and the limited changes affecting the root in root verbs and a few a-dropping verbs (2.4.7-8) are then treated. Finally, a listing of various irregularities completes the description of verb inflection (2.4.9). Sample paradigms illustrating the constituents and forms of the Russian verb are shown in Table V. Productivity of stem types (2.4.10), stress alternation patterns (2.4.11), aspectual derivation (2.4.12-13), and aspectual meaning and usage (2.5) are treated separately.

2.4.1 Verb endings and formants

1) Present-future (1 sg. through 3 pl.)

I	Conjugation	II	
-u		-u	(preceded by J-change of stem C in Conj. II)
-, oš		-, iš	(ь is purely orthographic in the spelling of the endings -ешь, -ишь)
-, ot		-, it	
-, om		-, im	
-, ot, i		-, it, i	
-ut		-, at	

2) Present active participle

I	Conjugation	II	
-ušč-		-, ašč-	(plus adjective endings or adverb suffix -i)

3) Present passive participle

-om-		-, im-	(plus adjective endings)
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4) Imperative

formant	plus	ending
-, - ~ -, i- ~ ∅	+	sg. -∅ or pl. -t, i

The formant -, *i*- occurs (a) after certain clusters, (b) when the imperative formant bears stress, and (c) in verbs with the prefix *vi*- (stressed) whose basic verb had a stressed imperative; -, - occurs elsewhere, except after /k g/, where there is zero.

5) Present gerund formant: -, *a*.

6) Past passive participle and verbal noun formant. In second conjugation verbs which drop -, *i*- in the present-future group, the past passive participle and verbal noun are formed on the stem of the present-future group. Some verbs with the suffix -*n(u)*- form their verbal noun on the present-future stem, as do exceptionally a very few other verbs. All other verbs, of course, form the past passive participle and verbal noun on the stem of the infinitive group. The formant variants follow:

(a) -, *on*- ~ -*en*-: after first conjugation stems ending in a consonant other than /r/ and after second conjugation *i*-dropping stems (-, *on*- occurs in the participle and -*en*- in the verbal noun because of following palatalization in the latter form).

(b) -*n*-: after stem vowel suffix -*a*- and -*e*-.

(c) -*t*-: after first conjugation stems ending in /r/, in /a/ which alternates with nasal consonant, and in vowels other than stem vowel suffix -*a*- or -*e*-.

The past passive participle adds adjective endings (short and long) to this formant. The verbal noun adds an additional formant -, *ij*- (-*j*- in colloquial usage) plus *окнó*-type noun endings. The formant -, *on*- undergoes change of its vowel to /e/ conditioned by the palatalization of the following consonant when -, *ij*- ~ -*j*- is added.

7) Infinitive formant:

-č: after stems ending in /k g/, otherwise;

-t, *i*: if verb has ending stress (occurs only in stems ending in a

consonant) or has stressed prefix *vi-* and derives from a basic verb with ending stress, or;

-t,: in all other verbs (the vast majority)

Before this formant, the following changes affect stem-final consonants: /k g/ are dropped, /t d b/ become /s/ except in the verb *идти* 'to go'; stems ending in /r/ add *-e-*, stems with the root *-šib-* add *-,i-*.

8) Past tense: The formant is *-l-* plus short adjective nominative endings; the formant becomes *-l*, in the plural; result:

m. *-l-ø* f. *-l-a* n. *-l-o* pl. *-l,-i*

If the verb stem ends in a consonant, *-l-* is replaced by zero before the *ø*-ending (masculine form). Before this formant, /t d/ are dropped.

9) Past active participle: The formant is *-š-* after a consonant, *-v + š-* (realized as /fš/) after a vowel, plus adjective endings or the adverb ending *-i*. Before this formant, /t d/ may be dropped.

10) Past gerund formant: *-v* (occurs only after stems ending in a vowel).

2.4.2 Stem types

See numerically correlated sample paradigms (Table V) as well as section 2.4.11 with accompanying table of stress shifts (Table VI).

2.4.2.1 Conjugation I.

[1.1] Root verbs

[1.1.1] Root: CVC: нести 'to carry', пасть 'to fall', печь 'to bake'. Verbs with the root *-šib-* extend their stem by *-,i-* in the infinitive (ошибиться 'to make a mistake' has the present ошибусь, ошибёшься, etc., and the past ошибся, ошиблась, etc.); the stem-final consonant undergoes J-change before the past passive participle formant: ушибленный.

[1.1.1.1] Root: C(, o ~ ø) r: тереть 'to rub'.

[1.1.2] Root: (C)CN ~ (C)C, a: взять 'to take'. The root consists of one or more consonants plus a nasal consonant in the present-future group which nasal alternates with *-,a-* in the infinitive group.

[1.1.3] Root: CV, /j/ or /v/ added in the present-future group: мыть 'to wash', жить 'to live'.

[1.2] Stem vowel verbs—stem vowel is stable in all forms, /j/ follows it in present-future group.

[1.2.1] Base plus stable stem vowel *-e-*: уметь 'to know how'.

[1.2.2] Base plus stable stem vowel *-a-*: or base plus suffix *-v-* or *-iv-* plus stem vowel *-a-*: делать 'to do', отрезывать 'to cut off'.

The following types (the remaining Conjugation I and all Conjugation II verbs) drop their stem-final vowel in the present-future group.

[1.3] Stem-final vowel dropping verbs

[1.3.1] Base plus suffix *-n-* plus stem vowel *-u-*: кинуть 'to throw'.

[1.3.2.1] Base plus suffix *-ov-* plus stem vowel *-a-* in infinitive group alternating with suffix variant *-u-* in present-future group. Stem vowel dropped and stem extension /j/ added in present-future group: следовать 'to follow'.

[1.3.2.2-4] Root plus stem vowel *-a-* or *-o-*: брать 'to take', писать 'to write', колоть 'to jab'. One verb, реветь 'to roar', drops stem-final *-e-* and forms its present stem forms on the stem *р,ев-*: реву́, реве́шь.

2.4.2.2 Conjugation II.

[2.1-3] Base plus stem vowel *-,i-, -e-, or -a-*; stem vowel drops in present-future group: решить 'to solve', любить 'to love', смотреть 'to look at', держать 'to hold'.

2.4.3 Stem extension in present-future group

Verbs which have a stem-final vowel in the present-future group add a stem extension in that group. This extension is /v/ after Ci and /j/ after all other vowels: жить, живу́ 'to live', мыть, мою́ 'to wash', делать, делаю́ 'to do', уметь, умею́ 'to know how', следовать, следу́ю 'to follow'.

2.4.4 Stem suffixes

Stem suffixes occur only in Conjugation I verbs: *-n(u)-*. The vowel /u/ is dropped in the present-future group: кинуть 'to throw', верну́ть 'to return'. A small unproductive subgroup of verbs drops this suffix in some forms of the infinitive group. Стáть 'to become, take a stand' and де́ть 'to put' drop this suffix in all forms of the infinitive group.

-ov- ~ -u-: The first variant in the infinitive group and the second variant in the present-future group. This is usually followed by the stem vowel *-a-* which drops in the present-future group; сле́до-

вать 'to follow'. If followed by the suffix *-iv-*, the variant *-ov-* remains in all forms: *перепакóвывать* 'to be repacking'.

-iv- ~ *-v-* occurs only when followed by stem vowel *-a-*. The variant *-iv-* occurs after a consonant; *-v-* after a vowel: *перепи́сывать* 'to copy', *открывáть* 'to open'. With three roots ending in /a/ (*zna-* 'to know', *da-* 'to give', *sta-* 'to stand'), the suffix and following stem vowel are dropped in the present-future tense and in the present active participle: *дава́ть* 'to give', *встава́ть* 'to get up', *узнава́ть* 'to find out'. In all other cases, the suffix and following stem vowel are stable (do not drop) in all forms. Fixed stress falls on the syllable preceding the variant *-iv-* and on the syllable after the variant *-v-*.

2.4.5 Stem vowels *-a-*, *-e-*, *-i-*, *-o-*, *-u-*

The vowels *-o-*, *-u-* occur only in first conjugation verbs, and *-u-* only in conjunction with the suffix *-n-*; *-i-* occurs only in second conjugation verbs. In Conjugation I, stem vowels *-o-* and *-u-* always drop in the present-future group and *-a-* may drop; in Conjugation II, of course, stem vowels always drop in the present-future group.

2.4.6 Stem-final consonant alternation

1) Stem-final /k g/ in consonant root verbs undergo J-change before formants beginning with ,o or e: *пекý*—*печёшь*, *печён*, *пече́ние* 'to bake'.

2) In Conjugation II, stem-final consonant undergoes J-change before the ending of the 1 sg. present-future and the formant of the past passive participle and verbal noun: *оста́вить*, *оста́влю*, *оста́вленный* 'to leave'.

3) In Conjugation I verbs which drop the stem vowel *-a-* (other than those where root vowel alternates with zero, as *зов-ú*, *зв-á-t*, 'to call', and those with the suffix *-ov-* ~ *-u-*), the root-final consonant undergoes J-change when the vowel drops (present-future group): *писа́ть*, *пишú* 'to write'. However, two verbs of this class with stem consonant /l/ (*сла́ть* 'to send', *стла́ть* 'to spread out') add /, / . In *сла́ть* the preceding consonant undergoes J-change: *сла́ть*, *шлú*.

4) Conjugation I verbs which drop stem vowel *-o-* add /, / when the vowel is dropped: *коло́ть*, *колю́* 'to jab, stab'.

5) /j/ before a nasal consonant is replaced by /n/ when the nasal consonant is replaced by *-a-*. This occurs in a subset of the verbs which show the alternation N ~ *-a-* (see 2.4.8 below): *поймý*, *поя́ть* 'to understand'.

2.4.7 Root vowel alternation

Root vowel alternation affects only root verbs and a small number of Conjugation I *-a*-dropping verbs.

1) *-o-* ~ \emptyset in a few stem *-a*-dropping verbs: зовý, звáть 'to call'; *-o-* in present-future group ~ \emptyset in infinitive group.

2) *-,o-* ~ \emptyset in all root verbs with final /r/: трý, терéть, төр 'to rub'; zero in present-future group ~ *-,o-* in the infinitive group.

3) *-e-* ~ \emptyset in a few stem *-a*-dropping verbs: берý, брáть 'to take'; *-e-* in present-future group ~ \emptyset in infinitive group. Also in verbs where /,i/ alternates with /j/ (see 11 below)—пíть, пýю, пéй 'to drink'—present-future stem is *C(e)j-* with *-e-* present before zero, that is, in the imperative. However in *brej-* 'to shave', the *-e-* is present in all present-future stem forms to prevent the unpermitted eluster /brj/.

4) *-,o-* ~ *-e-* ~ \emptyset in иди́ (шёл, шéдший, шлá) 'to go' and in жéчь, жéг, жгý, 'to burn'.

5) *-,i-* ~ \emptyset in снимý, сня́ть 'to take off' (*-,i-* before N) ~ (\emptyset before *-,a-*). See section 2.4.8. Also occurs in a few other verbs with the same root (*-n,im-* ~ *-n,a-*) and prefixes terminating in consonant.

6) *-e-* ~ *-,a-* in one consonant root verb: сéсть, еáду 'to sit down'; *-e-* in infinitive group ~ *-,a-* in present-future group.

7) *-,o-* ~ *-e-* ~ *-,a-* in one consonant root verb: лёг, лёчь, лягу 'to lie down'; *-,a-* in present-future group alternates with *-,o-* (before plain consonant) ~ *-e-* (before palatalized consonant) in the infinitive group.

8) *-i-* ~ *-o-* in a few vowel root verbs: мы́ть, мо́ю 'to wash'; infinitive group *-i-* ~ present-future group *-o-*.

9) *-e-* ~ *-o-* in one vowel root verb: пéть, пою́ 'to sing'; infinitive group *-e-* ~ present-future group *-o-*. Also in one stem *-o*-dropping verb: мелю́, молóть, мо́лотый 'to grind'; present-future group *-e-* ~ infinitive group *-o-*.

10) *-,o-* ~ *-e-* in a number of consonant root verbs: пёк, пéчь 'to bake'; the occurrence of *-e-* is here conditioned by the following palatalized consonant, i.e., the infinitive formant -ё-.

11) *-,i-* (or /i/ after /š/) ~ *-j-* in a few root verbs: пíть, пýю 'to drink'; infinitive group *-,i-* ~ present-future group *-j-*.

2.4.8 Nasal alternation

A very few root verbs have root-final nasal consonant (symbolized N) in the present-future group alternating with *-,a-* in the infinitive group: мнý, мя́ть 'to knead'; жмý, жа́ть 'to press'.

2.4.9 Irregularities

1) Irregular stem alternation: *-jex-a ~ -jed-*: ехать, еду 'to ride'.

-bi- ~ -bud-, plus anomalous present forms есть, нет, and ø: быть, буду 'to be'.

-kl, as- in infinitive *~ -kl, a-* in the remaining infinitive stem forms *~ -kl, a-* plus nasal suffix *-n-* in present-future group: клаясь, клану 'to curse'.

-ros- (infinitive stem) *~ -rost-* (present-future stem): расти, рос, расту 'to grow'. The spelling alternation *o ~ a* is purely orthographic and fortuitously reflects the automatic morphophonemic change *ó → a*.

-id- (present-future group plus infinitive) *~ -š(o ~ e)d-* (in remaining infinitive group forms): иду́, идти́, шёл, шедший, шла́ 'to go'.

-jd- (present-future group) *~ -j-* (infinitive) *~ -š(o ~ e)d-* (remaining infinitive group forms): пойдú, пойти́, пошёл, пошла́ 'to go' (and other prefixed derivatives of идти́).

2) Various irregularities: Бежать 'to run' forms its infinitive stem forms regularly on the stem *b, ež-a*. In the present stem, we have loss of stem vowel *-a-* and alternation of *b, ež ~ b, eg* (J-change). *b, eg-* appears in the 1 sg. and 3 pl. present tense and in the present active participle before first conjugation endings or formants and in the imperative: берú, берýт, берúщий, беги́, etc. The stem *b, ež-* appears in the remaining present tense forms with second conjugation endings: бежи́шь, etc. In effect, бежать functions as a second conjugation *a*-dropping verb, except for the forms with the stem variant *b, eg-* which functions as a first conjugation CVC root verb. Stress is uniformly on stem vowel *-a-*, and is found, where *-a-* is dropped, on the formant or ending.

хотеть 'to wish' functions in all forms but 1,2,3 sg. present as a second conjugation *e*-dropping verb with stem *xot, e-*, with stress uniformly on stem vowel *-e-* and, in forms where *-e-* is dropped, on the formant or ending. The singular present forms are on the stem *xoč-* (J-change of final consonant) with ending stress in 1 sg. and stem stress in 2,3 sg. The 2,3 sg. endings are spelled like first conjugation endings, but in the absence of stress, the distinction between first and second conjugation endings is neutralized in these forms: хочú, хочешь, хочет.

Есть 'to eat' shows the basic stem *jed-*. Except for the present tense and the present active participle, the verb functions as a CVC root verb. The imperative has the stem *jež-* (J-change of final /d/), spelled: ешь, еьте; the past active participle and gerund lose stem-final /d/, thus *je-*: ёв, ёвший. The present gerund is едя́; present passive participle едо́мый; infinitive есть; past ёл,

TABLE 5. SAMPLE PARADIGMS

Conjugation I

[1.1] Root verbs

[1.1.1] Consonant verbs, root type: CVC-					[1.1.1.1] r-verbs, root: C(o ~ ø)r-	
inf. stem	<i>n, os-</i>	<i>pad-</i>	<i>gr, ob-</i>	<i>p, ok-</i>	<i>t, or-</i>	
inf.	нести	пасть	грести	печь	терё-ть	
past m.	нёс	пá-л	грéб	пéк	тёр	
f.	-лá	-ла	-лá	-лá	-ла	
n.	-лó	-ло	-лó	-лó	-ло	
pl.	-лí	-ли	-лí	-лí	-ли	
past ger.	(^{''})-ши	-вши	(^{''})-ши	(^{''})-ши	-ши	
past act. part.	(^{''})-ший	-вший	(^{''})-ший	(^{''})-ший	-ший	
past pass. part.						
short	-ён(-á, -ó, ý)			печ-ён(-á, -ó, ý)	-т	
long	-ённый			-ённый	-тый	
vb. n.	-ение	пад-ение		-ение	(трение)	
pres-fut. stem	<i>n, os-</i>	<i>pad-</i>	<i>gr, ob-</i>	<i>p, ok-</i>	<i>tr-</i>	
1.sg.	несу́	паду́	гребу́	пеку́	тру́	
2.sg.	-ёшь	-ёшь	-ёшь	печ-ёшь	-ёшь	
3.sg.	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	-ёт	
1.pl.	-ём	-ём	-ём	-ём	-ём	
2.pl.	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	-ёте	
3.pl.	-ут	-ут	-ут	пек-ут	-ут	
pres. act. part.	-ýщий	-ýщий	-ýщий	-ýщий	-ýщий	
pres. pass. part.	-óмый					
imp.	-й(-те)	-й(-те)	-й(-те)	-й(-те)		
pres. ger.	-я					

/t d b/ → /s/; /k g/ → ∅ in inf.

/t d/ →

and usually in past ger. and past act. part.

[1.1.2] Nasal verbs, root: (C)CN ~ (C)C, *a-*

inf. stem	<i>voz, a-</i>
inf.	взя-ть
past m.	-л
f.	-ла́
n.	-ло
pl.	-ли
past ger.	-в(ши)
past act. part.	-вший
past pass. part.	-т(-а́, -о, -ы)
short	-тый
long	-тые
vb. n.	
pres-fut. stem	<i>voz, m-</i>
1.sg.	возьму́
2.sg.	-ёшь
3.sg.	-ёт
1.pl.	-ём
2.pl.	-ёте
3.pl.	-у́т
pres. act. part.	
pres. pass. part.	-и́(-те)
imp.	
pres. ger.	

[1.1.3] Vowel verbs, root: (C)CV-

<i>ž i-</i>	<i>ot + ktr i-</i>	<i>p, i-</i>
жи-ть	откры-ть	пи-ть
-л	-л	-л
-ла́	-ла	-ла́
-ло	-ло	-ло
-ли	-ли	-ли
-вши	-в	-вши
-вший	-вший	-вший
	-т	-т(-а́, -о, -ы)
-тьё	-тый	-тый
	-тие	-тьё
<i>ž i + v-</i>	<i>ot + ktr o + j-</i>	<i>p, j-</i>
живу́	открою́	пью́
-ёшь	-ешь	-ёш
-ёт	-ет	-ёт
-ём	-ем	-ём
-ёте	-ете	-ёте
-у́т	-ют	-бют
-уший		-юший
-и́(-те)	-ø(-те)	пёй-ø(-те)
-я		

Conjugation I (cont'd)

[1.2] Stem vowel verbs

[1.2.1-2] Stem: Base plus stem vowel
-a- or -e- or base plus stem
suffix -a- or -i- plus stem
vowel -a-

inf. stem	<i>d, e l + a -</i>	<i>u m + , e -</i>
inf.	дѣла-ть	умѣ-ть
past m.	-л	-л
f.	-ла	-ла
n.	-ло	-ло
pl.	-ли	-ли
past ger.	-в	-в
past act. part.	-вший	-вший
past pass. part.	-н	-н
short	-н	-н
long	-нный	-нный
vb. n.	-ние	-ние, -ние
pres-fut. stem	<i>d, e l + a + j -</i>	<i>u m + , e + j -</i>
1.sg.	делаю	умею
2.sg.	-ешь	-ешь
3.sg.	-ет	-ет
1.pl.	-ем	-ем
2.pl.	-ете	-ете
3.pl.	-ют	-ют
pres. act. part.	-ющий	-ющий
pres. pass. part.	-емый	-емый
imp.	дѣлай-ѳ(-ге)	умей-ѳ(-ге)
pres. ger.	дѣлая	умея

[1.3] Stem-final vowel dropping verbs

[1.3.1] Stem: base plus
suffix -n(u-), -u-
dropped in
pres-fut. stem

<i>k, i + n - u -</i>	<i>k, i + n -</i>	<i>s l, e d + o v + a -</i>
кину-ть	кину	слѣдова-ть
-л	-л	-л
-ла	-ла	-ла
-ло	-ло	-ло
-ли	-ли	-ли
-в	-в	-в
-вший	-вший	-вший
-н	-н	-н
-нный	-нный	-нный
-ние	-ние	-ние
<i>s l, e d + u + j -</i>	<i>k, i + n -</i>	<i>s l, e d + u + j -</i>
слѣдую	кину	слѣдую
-ешь	-ешь	-ешь
-ет	-ет	-ет
-ем	-ем	-ем
-ете	-ете	-ете
слѣдуют	-ут	слѣдуют
слѣдующий		слѣдующий
слѣдуй-ѳ(-ге)	кинь-ѳ(-ге)	слѣдуй-ѳ(-ге)
слѣдую		слѣдую

Conjugation I. [1.3] Stem-final vowel dropping verbs (cont'd)

[1.3.2.2-4] inf. stem: root plus stem vowel (-a- or -o-),
pres-fut. stem: root-

inf. stem	<i>br + a-</i>	<i>p, is + a-</i>	<i>kol + o-</i>
inf.	бра́-ть	писа́-ть	колю́-ть
past m.	-л	-л	-л
f.	-ла́	-ла	-ла
n.	-ло	-ло	-ло
pl.	-ли	-ли	-ли
past ger.	-в(ши)	-в	-в(ши)
past act. part.	-вший	-вший	-вший
past pass. part.			
short			
long		(')-н	(')-т
vb. n.	*	(')-нный	(')-тый
		-ние	-тьё
pres-fut. stem	<i>b, er-</i>	<i>p, is-</i>	<i>kol,-</i>
1.sg.	беру́	пишú	колю́
2.sg.	-ёшь	(')-ешь	(')-ешь
3.sg.	-ёт	(')-ет	(')-ет
1.pl.	-ём	(')-ем	(')-ем
2.pl.	-ёте	(')-ете	(')-ете
3.pl.	-ут	(')-ут	(')-ют
pres. act. part.	-ущий	(')-ущий	колю́щий
pres. pass. part.			
imp.	-й(-те)	-й(-те)	-й(-те)
pres. ger.	-я		(')-я

no J-change: *e* or *o*
may be inserted in
pres-fut. stem.
* избра́ние

stem-final C
in pres-fut.
stem under-
goes J-change.

root is -*ol-*, -*ol~el-*, or
-*or-* stem-final / 1 r /
palatalized in pres-fut.
stem; only five basic
verbs in this class.

Conjugation II

Stem: base plus stem vowel in inf. stem; stem vowel dropped in pres-fut. stem.
 Palatalization of /r l n/, J-change of remaining consonants takes place in 1. sg. pres-fut. and
 (in verbs which use pres-fut. stem for those forms) in past pass. part. and vb. n.

[2.1] Stem vowel -i, -e-

inf. stem	r, eŕ + i-	l, uŕ +, i-
inf.	реши́-ть	любѝ-ть
past m.	-л	-л
f.	-ла	-ла
n.	-ло	-ло
pl.	-ли	-ли
past ger.	-в	-в
past act. part.	-вший	-вший
pres-fut. stem	r, eŕ-	l, uŕ-
past pass. part.	реши́-ён(-а́, -о́, -ы́)	*
short	-ённый	*
long	-ение	
vb. n.	-у́	люблю́
1.sg.	-и́шь	любѝ-шь
2.sg.	-и́т	-и́т
3.sg.	-и́м	-и́м
1.pl.	-и́те	-и́те
2.pl.	-а́т	-я́т
3.pl.		-я́щий
pres. act. part.		-и́мый
pres. pass. part.	-и́(-те)	-и́(-те)
imp.		-я́
pres. ger.		
* влюбѝ́ён		
* влюбѝ́ённый		

Conjugation II (cont'd)

	[2.2] Stem vowel -e-	[2.3] Stem vowel -a-
inf. stem	<i>smotr</i> + ,e-	<i>d, erž</i> + a-
inf.	смотре-ть	держ-а-ть
past m.	-л	-л
f.	-ла	-ла
n.	-ло	-ло
pl.	-ли	-ли
past ger.	-в	-в
past act. part.	-вший	-вший
past pass. part.		
short	(') -н	(') -н
long	(') -нный	(') -нный
vb. n.	-ние	-ние
pres-fut. stem	<i>smotr-</i>	<i>d, erž-</i>
1.sg.	смотре-ю	держ-у
2.sg.	(') -ишь	(') -ишь
3.sg.	(') -ит	(') -ит
1.pl.	(') -им	(') -им
2.pl.	(') -ите	(') -ите
3.pl.	(') -ят	(') -ат
pres. act. part.	-ящий	-ащий
pres. pass. part.		
imp.	-й(-те)	-й(-те)
pres. ger.	-я	-я

ела (with the usual morphophonemic changes of /d/ before /t,/ and /l/); and past passive participle съеденный. Present tense plural forms and the present active participle are also on the stem *jed-* with second conjugation ending or formant: едим, едите, едят, едящий. The present tense singular forms have special vowel-less endings -*m*, -*š*, -*t*, lose stem-final /d/ before /m š/, and show /d → s/ before /t/: ем, ешь, ест.

Except for the present tense, the verb, дать 'to give', functions as a CV root verb on the stem *da-*: inf. дать; past дал, дала, etc.; past passive participle данный; and imperative дай, дайте (extension of vowel stem by /j/ in present stem form). In the present tense the 1,2 plural are on the stem *dad-* with second conjugation endings, the 3 plural on *dad-* with first conjugation ending, the 3 sg. on *dad-* with vowel-less ending -*t*, and 1,2 sg. endings on *da-* with vowel-less -*m*, -*š*: дам, дашь, даст, дадим, дадите, дадут.

Sample paradigms (Table V) are numerically correlated to the discussion of stem types (2.4.2) and illustrate the foregoing discussion (sections 2.4.1-9).

2.4.10 Productivity of verb stem types

The following verb stem types are productive (i.e., new verbs can be formed on these patterns).

[1.2.2] Non-dropping stem vowel -*a*-; productive in the formation of secondary imperfectives, particularly in conjunction with the suffix-variant -*iv-* (see 2.4.13 for examples); also productive in forming basic imperfectives from nouns, adjectives, interjections, and onomatopoeics, usually in conjunction with certain radical suffixes:

столяр	cabinetmaker	столярничать	to exercise the cabinet-maker's trade
умник	clever fellow	умничать	to play the wise guy
нервный	nervous	нервничать	to be nervous
мяу	meow	мяукать	to meow (like a cat)
о	the sound or letter "o"	обать	to pronounce with /o/ in unstressed syllables
ах	(interjection)	ахать	to say "ach"

[1.2.1] Non-dropping stem vowel -*e*-; limited productivity in deriving verbs in meaning 'to become (like)' from adjective or noun stems:

бедный	poor	беднеть	to become poor
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In derivation from noun stems, prefixation takes place:

сиротá orphan осиротѣть to become an orphan

The unprefixed verbs are imperfective; the prefixed verbs, perfective.

[1.3.1] Stem suffix *-n-*, dropping stem vowel *-u-*. The suffix *-n-* is productive in forming perfective verbs usually indicating a momentary, sudden action. Such verbs are usually formed from the stems of already existing or newly formed imperfective verbs. Productive verbs of this type retain *-n-* in all forms: кри́чать 'to be shouting', кри́кнуть 'to let out a shout', спекули́ровать 'to speculate', спекульну́ть 'to speculate once'.

[1.3.2.1] Dropping stem vowel *-a-* preceded by the suffix *-ov- ~ -u-*. This type is extremely productive in deriving words from native noun stems and still more from foreign borrowings. Loan formations frequently precede the stem suffix *-ov- ~ -u-* with borrowed radical suffixes such as *-,iz-, -,ir-, -,iz-,ir-*, and *-f,ic-ir-*. Thus, аресто́вать, комфандо́вать, мобилизо́вать, координи́ровать, специализи́ровать, советизи́ровать, класси́фицировать, etc. These verbs are imperfective and may be perfectivized through addition of prefixes. New verbs formed on this pattern stress the stem vowel *-a-*, excepting those with the suffix *-,ir-* which is always stressed.

[2.1] Stem vowel *,i-*-dropping. This type is moderately productive in forming verbs (sometimes with addition of prefixes) from noun, adjective, and adverb stems: бомби́ть 'to bomb', температу́рить 'to run a temperature', укрупни́ть 'to expand a collective farm' (cf. крупный 'big'), обезто́чить 'to deprive of (electric) current' (cf. без то́ка 'without current'). All other verb types are unproductive—no new verbs are formed on their patterns.

2.4.11 Stress patterns of the verb

Verbs, like nouns, may have either fixed or shifting stress. General rules follow.

In perfective verbs, the prefix *vi-* has fixed stress. Imperfective verbs with the prefix *vi-* do not stress the prefix. Other than the prefix *vi-*, no prefix ever has fixed stress. If a verb contains a stem vowel and any element not dropped in the pres-fut. stem is stressed in the infinitive, stress is fixed (i.e., does not shift) on that syllable in all forms, except the past passive participle as noted.

First conjugation verbs with infinitive stems ending in /r/ which add /é/ before the infinitive stress the root in the remaining infinitive stem forms. (*Explanation of tables continued on p. 75.*)

TABLE 6. STRESS SHIFTS OF VERBS

Example nos.	[1.1a]	[1.1b]	[1.1c]	[1.1.3]
verb type	C-stems E-stress	C-stems in /k g/. All have E-stress but сѣчь, срѣчь and derivatives which have S-stress in inf. stem.	C-stems, S-stress	V-stems
inf.	formant - <i>t, i</i> stressed	last syllable before formant - <i>č</i> stressed.	formant - <i>t</i> ., root stressed	
past act. part., past ger.	stress on last syllable before formant (on root)		stress as infinitive	
past	endings stressed (except in masc., where last syllable before zero ending is stressed).		stress as inf., except that some verbs of this type stress the fem. ending and some of the verbs which stress the fem. shift stress to a prefix in the non-fem. forms.	
past passive part.	endings stressed in short form; formant stressed in long form.		stress as inf., except that verbs stressing fem. in past stress fem. short form ending here; verbs stressing non-fem. past on prefix. stress prefix on non-fem. short forms and on the long forms.	
verbal noun	stress on formant			same stress as inf., very few stress endings.
pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.	endings stressed		most stress the endings (in pres.-fut. and imp.) or formant (in ger. and part.); some retain same stress as inf.	
pres-fut. other than 1sg., pres. act. part.	same stress as 1sg., with very few exceptions which shift stress to last syllable before endings. These exceptions are мочь and some compounds of the root - <i>n, a ~ n, im-</i> (снять).			

Example nos.	[1.2.1]	[1.2.2]	[1.3a]	[1.3b]	[2a-b]	[2c]
verb type	stable vowel - <i>e</i> -	stable stem vowel - <i>a</i> -	stem suffix - <i>ov-</i> ~ - <i>u-</i>	Conjugation II		
				stem-final vowel dropped in pres-fut. stem	stem vowel - <i>e-</i> , - <i>a-</i>	stem vowel -, <i>i-</i>
inf., past act. part., past ger., past	stress usually on - <i>e</i> - rarely on root	stress either on - <i>a-</i> or on a preceding syllable	stress either on - <i>a-</i> or on syllable preceding - <i>ov-</i>	stress either on stem-final vowel or on a preceding syllable (verbs in - <i>o-</i> always stress this suffix). A few verbs with monosyllabic stems in - <i>a-</i> (брать, лгать, ждать) stress the feminine ending of the past.		

(Table continues on opposite page.)

Example nos.	[1.2.1]	[1.2.2]	[1.3a]	[1.3b]	[2a-b]	[2c]
past passive part.	stress usually on -e- rarely on root	If stem-final vowel is stressed in infinitive, stress shifts to immediately preceding syllable here (providing there is a syllable preceding the stem-final vowel); if any other syllable is stressed in the infinitive, stress remains on that syllable in this form. If fem. past ending is stressed, the fem. ending of the short form is stressed here.				stress as in pres-fut. other than 1sg. If endings stressed there, endings are stressed in short form, formant in long form.
verbal noun		same stress as in infinitive				formant stressed if stem-final vowel stressed in inf.; otherwise same stress as inf. (a few exceptions stress the formant even with other inf. stress).
pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.		same stress as in inf.	If suffix -a- is stressed in inf. and preceded by a root containing one or more syllables, -u- stressed here; if the preceding root is non-syllabic, we have ending-formant stress, except in imp. where -u- is stressed; otherwise as inf.	If the stem-final vowel is stressed in inf., the ending (pres-fut.) or formant is stressed in these forms; except inf. stems in /oɣV/ shift stress to /ó/ in imp.; otherwise as inf.		
pres-fut. other than 1sg., pres. act. part.				If stem-final vowel is stressed in inf. stress here is either as in 1sg. or shifted to syllable immediately preceding ending or formant; otherwise as inf.		

Example Verbs of Each Type of Stress Shift

Example nos.	inf.	past act. part., past gerund	past	past passive participle	verbal noun	pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.	pres-fut. except 1sg., pres. act. part.
[1.1a]	нести to carry	нёший нёщи	нёс несла несло несли	несён, -а, -о, -ы несённый	несение	несу неёй неся несо́мый	несёшь несу́щий
[1.1b]	печь to bake	пёкший пёкши	пёк, -ла, ло, -ли	печён, -а, -о, -ы печённый	печение	пеку́ пеки́ ----	печёшь пеку́щий
[1.1c]	класть to lay	кла́вший кла́вши	кла́л, -а, -о, -и	кла́ден, -а, -о, -ы кла́денный		кладу́ клади́ кладя́ кладо́мый	кладе́шь кладу́щий
[1.1.3]	пить to drink	пи́вший пи́вши	пи́л, -а, -о, -и	пи́т, -а, -о, -ы пи́тый	питьё	пью́ пей ----	пьёшь пью́щий
[1.2.1]	белеть to be white	беле́вший белев	беле́л, -а, -о, -и		беление	белю́ белей беля́ -----	беле́шь белю́щий
[1.2.2]	делать to do	деле́вший делав	деле́л, -а, -о, -и	деле́н, -а, -о, -ы деле́нный	делание	делаю́ делай делая́ делае́мый	деле́шь делаю́щий
	ожидать to await	ожида́вший ожида́в	ожида́л, -а, -о, -и	неожи́дан неожи́данный	ожидание	ожидаю́ ожидай ожида́я ожида́емый	ожида́ешь ожида́ющий

Example nos.	inf.	past act. part., past gerund	past	past passive participle	verbal noun	pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.	pres-fut. except 1sg., pres. act. part.
[1.3a]	страховать to insure	страховáвший страховáв	страховáл, -а, -о, -и	страховáн страховáнный	страховáние	страхóу страхóуя страхóуемый	страхóуешь страхóующий
	ковáть to forge	ковáвший ковáв	ковáл, -а, -о, -и	ковáн, -а, -о, -ы ковáнный		ку́ю ку́й куя ---	ку́ешь ку́ющий
	писа́ть to write	писа́вший писа́в	писа́л, -а, -о, -и	писа́н, -а, -о, -ы писа́нный	писа́ние	пишóу пишóу ---	пи́шешь пи́шущий
[1.3b]	бра́ть to take	бра́вший бра́в	бра́л, -а́, -о, -и	(за)бра́н, -а́, -о, -ы забра́нный	(со) бра́ние	берóу берóу беря ---	берё́шь берё́щий
	ко́лоть to stab	ко́ловший ко́лов	ко́лал, -а, -о, -и	ко́лот ко́лотый	ко́лотье (от ко́лотья от ко́лотья* stabbing pain)	колю́ колю́ коля* -----	ко́лешь ко́лющий
	отдохну́ть to rest	отдохну́вший отдохну́в	отдохну́л, -а, -о, -и	(ср. столкну́ть: столкну́тый)		отдохну́ отдохни́ -----	отдохнёшь

*irregular stress

Example nos.	inf.	past act. part., past gerund	past	past passive participle	verbal noun	pres-fut. 1sg., imp., pres. ger., pres. pass. part.	pres-fut. except 1sg., pres. act. part.
[2a]	терпеть to suffer	терпевший терпев	терпёл, -а, -о, -и	(cf. смотрёть: смотренный)	терпение	терплю терпи терпя терпимый	терпишь терпящий*
[2b]	держать to hold	державший держав	держал, -а, -о, -и	держан держанный	держание	держу держ держа люблю люб любя любимый	держишь держащий*
[2c]	любить to love	любивший любив	любил, -а, -о, -и			люблю люб любя любимый	любишь любящий
	купить to buy	купивший купив	купил, -а, -о, -и	куплен, -а, -о, -и купленный	(ис) купление	куплю купи ---- ----	купишь
	обновить to renew	обновивший обновив	обновил, -а, -о, -и	обновлён, -а, -о, -и обновлённый	обновление	обновлю обнови ----- -----	обновишь

*irregular stress

In the verbal noun, a few verbs have, in some cases as alternate forms, the noun endings stressed and no /,i/ before the /j/ of the formant. Thus, *мыть* 'to wash', *мытьё* 'washing'. Most of these verbs are first conjugation verbs with roots ending in a vowel and without stem suffixes.

In table VI "C-stems" indicates root verbs with stem terminating in consonant (consonant root verbs), "V-stems" indicates root verbs with stem terminating in vowel (vowel root verbs). "E-stress" indicates stress on ending or formant, while "S-stress" indicates stress on stem. In the table of examples, where the example verb lacks the relevant form, a prefixed derivative is sometimes given. Where the non-masculine short forms of the past passive participle are stressed like the masculine, they are usually not listed. Some forms of individual verbs (particularly the past passive participle of 2c and the verbal noun) show exceptions to the rules of table VI.

Table VI describes the stress shifts characteristic of the various types of verbs; appended to it are example verbs for each type. The example numbers at the top of the table serve to classify the verb accent types and to identify the example verbs below; the numbering of the verb accent types is correlated as closely as possible with the numbering the verb stem types (2.4.2 above).

2.4.12 Perfectivization of basic verbs

The basic verb is defined as a simple, unprefixated verb from which other verbs in a "family" of verbs containing the same root morpheme are derived by the various processes of affixation, etc., described in this and the following section; thus, *писа́ть* 'to write' is the basic verb from which *написа́ть* 'to write (down)', *подписа́ть* 'to sign', *подпи́сывать* 'to sign', etc. are derived. The vast majority of basic verbs are imperfective (some, however, like *да́ть* 'to give' are perfective); typically, a perfective counterpart or counterparts are derived from them by prefixation (cf. *написа́ть* above) or a suffixation of *-n(u)-*; other perfectives with different nuances of meaning are derived by the addition of other prefixes (cf. *подписа́ть* above). From these secondary prefixed perfectives, secondary imperfectives are derived by various morphological processes described below.

Though most basic verbs are imperfective, in contemporary Russian the great majority of verbs paired by aspect consists of derived (prefixed) perfectives plus the secondary imperfectives derived in turn from them. A typical pattern of verb derivation (verb

“family”) is, then:

basic verb	→	secondary perfectives	→	secondary imperfectives
писа́ть to write (impfv.)		написа́ть to write (pfv.) подписа́ть to sign (pfv.) записа́ть to write down (pfv.) etc.		подпи́сывать to sign (impfv.) запи́сывать to write down (impfv.) etc.

Perfectivization of basic verbs takes place as follows:

1) Addition of a prefix:

писа́ть:	написа́ть	to write
пе́чь:	спе́чь	to bake

2) Addition of stem suffix *-n(u)-* (after subtraction of previous stem vowel—махáть: махну́ть ‘to wave’. Before this suffix, root-final /p b d g/ usually fall—двигáть: двину́ть ‘to move’.

A few verbs, in addition to adding a prefix, change the stem-final *-a-* or *-ev-a-* to *-,i-* with consequent change of conjugation from first to second.

стреля́ть:	вы́стрелить	to shoot
сомнева́ться:	усомни́ться	to doubt

2.4.13 Imperfectivization of basic and secondary perfective verbs

1) Addition of non-dropping stem vowel *-a-* which almost always receives stress; after subtraction of any stem suffix or stem vowel *-e-*, *-a-*, or *-,i-*.⁵ This method of imperfectivization is applied particularly to root verbs ending in a consonant and second conjugation *i*-dropping verbs and a few *e*-dropping verbs.

ко́нчить:	конча́ть	to finish
лета́ть:	лета́ть	to fly
па́сть (<i>pad-</i>):	па́дать	to fall

(a) In addition, /i/ or /, i/ may be inserted in the root.

посла́ть:	посыла́ть	to send
вы́брать:	выбира́ть	to choose
засну́ть:	засыпа́ть	to fall asleep

(final /p/ of root dropped before *-n(u)-*)

(b) *-e-* may be changed to *-,i-*.

рассте́лить:	рассти́лать	to spread out (bedding)
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2) Addition of suffix *-iv- ~ -v-* plus stem vowel *-a-* to root or to root plus *-ov-* with prior subtraction of stem vowel (other than *-e-*) or *-n(u)-*. The variant *-iv-* is added after a consonant, *-v-* after a vowel (*-v-* occurs after first conjugation verbs with roots ending in a vowel or with non-dropping stem vowel *-e-*). Stress will fall on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix variant *-iv-*, but on the stem vowel *-a-* following the suffix variant *-v-*.

схватить:	схватывать	to catch
распаковать:	распаковывать	to unpack
указать:	указывать	to point out
открыть:	открывать	to open
заболеть:	заболевать	to become ill

As mentioned in section 2.4.4, three bases, which add *-v + a-* lose it in the present-future forms and in the pres. act.: *dava-*, *-znava-*, and *-stava-* (давать: даю 'to give', etc.). Otherwise, stem vowel *-a-* is stable.

(a) Root *-o-* is very frequently changed to *-a-* before this suffix.⁶

заработать:	зарабатывать	to earn
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In addition to the processes under 1) and 2), J-change of root-final consonant is very frequent when the source verb has stem vowel *-,i-*.

встретить:	встречать	to meet
спросить:	спрашивать	to ask
насадить:	насаживать	to put on (like a spit)
заявить:	заявлять	to announce

However, after roots ending in velars /k g x/, J-change will be present in the source verb, i.e., before stem vowel *-,i-*, but may be absent before *-a-*.

сложить:	слагать	to fold
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3) In four root verbs, root vowel *-,o-* is replaced by *-a-* and stem vowel *-,i-* is added (with consequent change of conjugation from I to II). These are as follows:

лечь	(<i>l, ° / eg- ~ l, ag-</i>):	ложиться	to lie down
нести	(<i>n, os-</i>):	носить	to carry
вести	(<i>v, od-</i>):	водить	to lead
везти	(<i>v, oz-</i>):	возить	to carry (vehicle)

The first pair above are perfective vs. imperfective; the last three pairs are semelfactive (one time or one direction) vs. iterative (repeated or multidirectional). A few perfective-imperfective pairs

show no regular correspondence. In some cases the roots of the perfective and imperfective appear related, but are not derived from one another by any of the above processes:

сесть (<i>s, ^e/ad-</i>):	сидѣться	to sit down
ѣхать (<i>jed- ~ jex-</i>):	ѣздить	to ride (with derivatives in <i>ježž-a-</i> showing J-change from <i>jezd-</i>)
стать (<i>sta- ~ sta + n-</i>):	становѣться	to stand

Others show no relation at all between the roots of the perfective-imperfective pair:

взять: брать to take

Very rarely, one member of a perfective-imperfective pair may be reflexive, the other not:

стать: становѣться to stand

2.5 EXCURSUS ON THE MEANING AND USE OF THE ASPECTS

Aspect is a category which is inherent in every verb.⁷ As described in section 2.4.12, aspect is signaled morphologically by various morphemes (prefixes, suffixes, including stem vowels), which by their presence, contrasting with their absence or with the presence of other affixes, serve as indices of aspect. Note that it is the *contrastive* presence of the morpheme which indicates; no morpheme is inherently an indicator of aspect, except possibly the stem suffix *-iv ~ v-*. Thus, the suffix *-n(u)-* is not invariably an indicator of perfective aspect; it is its presence versus its absence in a derivationally related verb which signals perfective. Likewise, a prefix alone does not make a verb perfective, but its presence versus its absence in an otherwise identical verb usually signals perfective. The test as to whether a verb is imperfective is its appearance in certain syntactic frames which exclude perfectives. Verbs whose infinitive can appear as object of начать 'to begin' are imperfective as are verbs which form a future construction with буду (see section 3.1.5.1).

Я буду говорить I'll be talking
Он начал плыть He began to swim

Говорѣть and плыть are, by this test, imperfective verbs. Verbs which do not meet this test are perfective. Быть 'to be' is in this

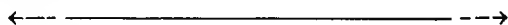
as in other respects anomalous, since it can appear with *начать*—Он начал быть интересным 'He began to be interesting'—but expresses its future with a present-future form like a perfective verb. Semantically, perfective verbs connote an action as somehow terminated or definitely limited in time, while the imperfective verb is non-committal with regard to the beginning or termination point of the action, usually regarding it as an ongoing process or as a repetitive or habitual process. In diagram form:

Perfective

(the action, as one global whole as terminated or bound in time.)



Imperfective (no termination or bounding; beginning and ending left unspecified).



Note that the perfective is the marked category; the imperfective is basically non-committal concerning the meaning-component added by the perfective; it is this added element which excludes the perfective from certain syntactic frames. These basic differences of meaning between perfective and imperfective aspects lead to the following differences in meaning in the various forms.

The present-future forms of imperfective verbs serve as the normal present tense of Russian verbs. This is because it is difficult to visualize an action in the present as anything other than either (a) ongoing or (b) habitual or continuous; the basic meanings of the imperfective aspect. The present-future forms of perfective verbs serve as a future tense referring to action taking place as one single unit in the future. This is the usual future tense in Russian. The present-future form of perfective verbs only occurs exceptionally without a future meaning. For example, after *пусть* 'let', as in *Пусть принесёт атласы*. 'Let him bring the atlases'. Both perfective and imperfective present-future are used as a historical present in narration.

In general, perfective commands are more peremptory and categorical, so that many social formulae are expressed with imperfective verbs.

Садитесь.

Sit down.

Входите, пожалуйста.

Please come in.

Since the imperfective aspect does not denote completion of an action, it is frequently used when the verb is negated, since a ne-

gated verb implies non-completion of an action. Thus,

Она́ не пе́клá э́ти She didn't bake these cookies.
пе́чeния.

Contrast:

Она́ спеклá э́ти She baked these cookies.
пнeчeния.

This is particularly true of negative imperatives, which are usually imperfective:

Не спра́шивай. Don't ask!

Contrast:

Спроси́ у него́. Ask him!

Compare also the use of the imperfective and perfective together in the following sentence: Она́ пе́клá пе́чeния, но́ не спеклá. 'She was baking cakes but didn't finish'. (She had started to bake, but did not carry the action through for some reason.)

2.6 ENCLITIC PARTICLES ATTACHED TO THE VERB

2.6.1 The reflexive particle -ся and its use

The particle -ся has the following forms:

	after verb forms ending in vowel (except participles)	after verb forms ending in consonant and after participles
written	-сь	-ся
pronounced	/s, / or /s/	/s, a/ or /sa/

The pronunciation /s, /, /s, a/ is usual after vowels and palatalized consonants, while the pronunciation /-s/, /sa/ is more frequent after non-palatalized consonants. When -ся is added to verb forms terminated by /t, / (infinitive) or /t/ (third person singular and plural, present tense), /t, / loses palatalization and /sa/ becomes /ca/. Thus,

бо́яться /ba.játca/ to be afraid
бо́ятся /ba.játca/ they are afraid

The particle -ся is never attached to the verbal noun. An object in the accusative case never occurs with a verb at the same time the particle -ся is attached to it.

A number of verbs occur only with -ся: сме́яться 'to laugh', бо́яться 'to be afraid'.

The particle -ся may also be attached to a transitive verb which

otherwise usually occurs with an accusative object. With these, -ся has the following functions:

1) Reflexive—the subject performs the activity for or upon itself:

Мальчик одева́ется. The boy dresses himself.

However, the reflexive idea is usually attenuated; if the reflexive element is emphasized, the reflexive pronoun will be used.

Compare,

Она́ руга́ет себя́. She blames herself.

Она́ руга́ется. She's scolding; She's cursing.

2) Reciprocal—plural subjects perform the activity upon each other:

Мы́ встрéтились на ста́нции. We met at the station.

Again the reciprocal idea can be made more explicit by use of the reciprocal locution:

Мы́ встрéтили дру́г дру́га на We met each other at the
ста́нции. station.

3) Passive—an action is performed by an external actor upon the subject:

Сочинéния пи́шутся. Compositions are being written.

Closely related to this is the causative-reflexive, where the subject causes or permits an external actor to perform an action upon him:

Он снима́лся у фото́графа. He had (got) his picture taken at
the photographer's.

Again, the passive idea is frequently attenuated and the impersonal performance of some action upon the subject is indicated:

Уро́к начина́ется в три́ часа́. The lesson begins (is begun)
at three o'clock.

Когда́ двéри открыва́ются? When do the doors open?; When
do they open the doors?

This construction is used when an action is undergone by the subject due to impersonal, invisible, or internal factors:

Де́рево гне́тся. The tree is bending (presumably due to
impersonal, physical force).

Прóволока гнётся.	The wire bends (i.e., is flexible by nature).
Нíтка рвётся.	The thread tears (presumably through some internal weakness).

Note that in many functions where Russian uses a transitive verb plus -ся, English simply uses a normally transitive verb without an object.

4) The reflexive particle -ся is often added to transitive verbs when habitual, generalized, or intensive activity is indicated without an object being specified.

Эта соба́ка куса́ется.	This dog bites.
Соба́ка его́ куса́ет.	The dog is biting him.

This usage has been extended to intransitive verbs as well.

Беле́ется.	It looms (indistinctly) white (in the distance).
Compare:	
Беле́ет.	It's shining <i>or</i> becoming white.

5) The particle -ся is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs to make impersonal constructions in which a person affected is indicated by a noun or pronoun in the dative (N_{dat}).

Мне́ хóчется спáть.	I feel like sleeping.
Ему́ не спíтся.	He doesn't feel like sleeping.
Ему́ ле́гко живётся.	He's getting along well.
Мне́ вспóмнилась э́та но́чь.	The memory of that night came to me.

6) Finally, the reflexive particle, added to some transitive verbs, makes verbs of quite different meaning:

собира́ть	to gather together
собира́ться	to intend, to get ready

2.6.2 The post-verbal enclitic (unstressed) particles -ka and -te

The particle -te /t, i/ is sometimes added to the first person plural present-future used as imperative. The force of the particle is to decrease the peremptoriness of a command, to emphasize the connotation of request.

Пойдёмте!	Let's go!
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The particle -ka /ka/ may be added to the imperative forms or sometimes to the first person singular or plural with -te in colloquial speech. Use of this particle connotes familiarity, relaxedness, folksiness (e.g., it is often used in addressing children).

Подожди́-ка.	Wait.
Пойде́мте-ка.	Let's go.
Напишу́-ка ему́ письмо́.	Supposing I wrote him a letter.

2.6.3 Order of the particles

If more than one of the foregoing particles is affixed to a verb, the order is (1) /-t, i/ (2) /-s, a/ (3) /-ka/:

Зани́маетсѣ-ка. Let's register.

NOTES

1. The archaic neuter nouns жити́е 'Saint's life', быти́е 'being, existence' (stems žit, ij-, bit, ij-) constitute an exception to the system of modern Russian noun morphology, in that they have /-i/ in the prepositional singular and /é/ in their endings where regular о́н-о-words have -o. The remaining endings are those of the о́н-о-type: NAsg. жити́е, быти́е; Gsg. жити́я, быти́я; Dsg. жити́ю, быти́ю; Psg. жити́и, быти́и; Isg. жити́ем, быти́ем (italicized endings are those that differ from regular nouns, cf. NAsg. ружьё, Psg. ружьё, Isg. ружьём).

2. The only major exception to this statement are стол-words which have Nominative pl. -á, many of which have three or more syllables in the stem: дире́ктор, дире́кторá 'director', учи́тель, учи́тельá 'teacher'.

3. The neuter nominative ending is noted morphophonemically -ojo, through the second vowel, as it never occurs stressed, is never rendered as /o/. However, it shows the idiolectal variation /i~a/ characteristic of the morphophoneme -o- in post-stress position after a soft consonant. The assignment of the second vowel to the morphophoneme -o- is the solution also adopted by L. Bloomfield in the grammatical introduction accompanying the *Dictionary of Spoken Russian*, Dover, 1958. The second vowel of the genitive ending -ovo, on the other hand, is actually realized as /o/ under stress in such special adjectives as мо́ловó /majivó/ мо́его 'my'.

4. Strictly speaking, the comparatives described in this section do not function solely as predicate complements, but also rather rarely function as attributes in a noun phrase, in which case they have the prefix по- (2.3.5) and occupy the position following the head typical of undeclined modifiers: Секре́та́рь помо́ложе напра́вля́ется к пе́рвому за́му; секре́та́рь по́старше—к председа́телю. 'The junior secretary goes to the first deputy, the senior secretary to the chairman.'

5. Also, some of these processes are used to form iteratives from basic imperfective verbs—бы́ть: быва́ть.

6. A similar *spelling* replacement sometimes takes place with the change described under 1): сложи́ть: сла́гать; as stem vowel -a- is almost always stressed, written -a- represents no change from root vowel -o- which would be /a/ in unstressed position.

7. That is, every verb is either perfective or imperfective. Russian grammarians, and following them, T. F. Magner ("Aspectual Variations in Russian and Serbo-Croatian," *Language* 39:621-30) posit "double-aspect" verbs, i.e., verbs which can be of either aspect and in which the aspect distinction is neutralized. I am skeptical as to the existence of true double-aspect verbs (as opposed to verbs which are simply imperfectives without perfective counterparts), but cannot at this point categorically reject the possibility of their existence in Russian (as I indeed would for Serbo-Croatian, on the basis of work with native informants).



Sentence Structure

3.1 THE UNITS OF THE SENTENCE

The simple sentence (i.e., one without subordinate clauses, including quasi-clauses, incorporated in it) is here viewed as a skeletal framework composed of functional positions (slots) into which its constituent parts may be inserted. These constituent parts of the sentence are termed phrases. There are various kinds of phrases, which differ both in respect to the functional slots into which they may be inserted and in respect to their internal constituency. They are designated in this chapter by capital letter abbreviations (N = noun phrase, A = adjective phrase, D = adverbial phrase, PN = prepositional phrase, V = verb phrase, C = conjunction). The minimal phrase consists of a single word of a given class (as pointed out above, words are classified in terms of both their grammatical form and of their syntactic function). This word serves as the nucleus or head of the phrase and determines the function of the phrase in the sentence (e.g., into what functional slot the phrase fits). PN is an exception to this statement and, in general, fills the same slots as D. A phrase typically may be expanded by adding adjuncts (attributes, modifiers) to the head. (C is an exception to this statement.) Such an expanded phrase is equivalent in grammatical function (*ergo*, in slot substitutability) to the phrase consisting of a head alone. Sometimes items of another form class may serve as heads of a given type of phrase (e.g., substantivized adjectives as head of the noun phrase), so that while we give primacy to grammatical form in setting up our morphological classes—noun, verb, etc.—we give primacy to syntactic function in setting up our sentence level units, the phrases. In particular, we find verb phrases constituted by words or constructions not ordinarily thought of as verbal, e.g., various adverbs in construction with the verb “to be,” bare uninflected verb

roots, onomatopoeitics, defective imperatives, and the like (sections 3.1.5.1-3 and 3.2.2.4 below).

Sentences, like their constituents down to the word level, may be conjoined by conjunctions to form a single unit syntactically equivalent to the conjoined units. More interestingly, sentences may incorporate (embed) into their structures constructions representing the result (transforms) of transformations effected upon other simple independent sentences. Such incorporated structures include (1) incorporated clauses *per se* which are sentences either without change or with a simple introducer such as *что*; (2) relative clauses that are derived from independent sentences which share a constituent with the incorporating sentence (in the relative clause, this shared constituent is replaced by a relative word which then serves to link the subordinate clause to the relevant constituent slot of the incorporating sentence and also serves as the surrogate of the shared constituent of the source sentence in the relative clause); and (3) quasi-clauses which are derived from independent sentences by replacing the verb phrase of the source sentence with a quasi-verb form and, in the case of participial and gerundial quasi-clauses, by deleting the subject of the source sentence which is shared with the source sentence either as the subject of that sentence (gerundial) or a constituent of that sentence (participial). These incorporated elements are treated in sections 3.3-4. The units of the sentence include the following.

3.1.1 The noun phrase (N)

N consists of a noun or noun substitute (pronoun, substantivized adjective, numeral, quantifier) plus any modifiers which may be present.

<u>Автобус</u> идёт.	The bus is coming.
<u>Я</u> иду́ домой.	I'm going home.
Вот <u>ру́сский</u> .	There's the Russian.
<u>Учёный</u> здесь рабо́тает.	A scholar works here.
Было <u>неско́лько</u> .	There were several.
Он ко́нчил <u>шко́лу</u> .	He finished school.

Modifiers of N are A:

свободные сту́лья	free chairs
твóй портфе́ль	your briefcase
э́та рабо́та	this work
очень жа́ркий де́нь	a very hot day

or D:

собрáние вчерá вéчером the meeting last night

or PN:

музéй в Москвé the museum in Moscow

or N_{gen}:

Note that when speaking of the function of a noun phrase in the sentence, it is convenient to classify it according to the case of its head. Thus, we speak of N_{gen} (genitive noun phrase), N_{nom}, etc.,

дóм нáшего отцá our father's house

less commonly, N_{inst} or N_{dat}:

поéздка автомобилéм a ride by car

доказáтельство éтому proof of that

N in the same case as the head N or N_{nom} (noun in apposition):

ромáн "Войнá и Мíр" the novel "War and Peace"
студéнтка заóбщица student by special appointment

A subordinate clause:

мéсто гдé онí живúт the place where they live

Rarely an infinitive quasi-clause:

совéт пítь молоко́ the advice to drink milk

Note that A as modifier (and the possessives еró, её, íх) usually precede their head, while all other modifiers usually follow it.¹

3.1.2 The adjectival phrase (A)

A consists of an adjective or an adjective modified by one or more D.

гóлоден	hungry
свобóдный	free
óчень жáркий	very hot
немнóго бóлее слáдкий	a little sweeter

3.1.3 The adverbial phrase (D)

D consists of an adverb or an adverb modified by one or more adverbs.

очень	very
скучно	boring(ly), annoying(ly)
очень выгодно	very profitably

A few D, such as даже 'even', почти 'almost', только 'only', the negative particle не and some others function as special phrase modifiers and stand before the phrase they modify, notwithstanding the rule that D attributes normally follow the head of a noun phrase. Thus we have, только наши приятели 'only our friends', даже в Москвѣ 'even in Moscow', не эта больш́ая рýчка 'not that big pen', не о Зине 'not about Zina'. As D constituents on the sentence level, they usually precede the verb; indeed, the negative particle immediately precedes the verb (with no intervening elements) and forms an accentual unit with it. Compare не понима́ет 'doesn't understand' and не́ было 'wasn't'.

3.1.4 The prepositional phrase (PN)

PN consists of a preposition plus N:

со мной	with me
об этом челове́ке	about this man
в го́роде, где жи́л мо́й оте́ц	in the town where my father lived

3.1.5 The verb phrase (V)

V consists of a single verb or a verbal construction.

Авто́бус <u>идёт</u> .	The bus is coming.
Я <u>бúду писа́ть</u> .	I will write.
Она́ <u>боя́лась бы</u> .	She would be afraid.

3.1.5.1 Verbal constructions.

1) The imperfective future with бúду. Russian imperfective verbs form a future construction consisting of the present-future forms of быть (бúду, бúдешь, etc.) as an auxiliary verb, plus the infinitive, usually in that order.

Я бúду пи́ть.	I'll be drinking.
Ты бúдешь пи́ть.	You'll be drinking.
Они́ бúдут пи́ть.	They'll be drinking.

2) Constructions with бы. The enclitic particle бы occurs with the past tense form of the verb to form a construction (traditionally termed conditional or subjunctive). The particle бы may be placed either immediately after the verb or after the first stressed word of

the clause. When it occurs in a clause introduced by *что* or *если*, it is often written together with *если* and always with *что*. Used after these words and sometimes elsewhere (after items ending in a vowel), it may be abbreviated to *б*.

The *бы* construction indicates hypothesis or desire. The use of the *бы* construction in *что*-clauses and in conditional sentences is treated in sections 3.3.1.5-6. In independent clauses it is often used to indicate attenuation or softening of independent clauses which are directive: Я хотёл бы (or Я бы хотел) поговорить с вами. 'I'd like to talk to you.' (Cf., Я хочу поговорить с вами. 'I want to talk to you.');

Я бы спал. 'I'd like to sleep.'

The enclitic particle *бы* also occurs with the infinitive; the word order relation of *бы* within the clause being the same as when it occurs with the past tense. The infinitive plus *бы* may be used in *что*-clauses, particularly if the subject of such a clause is unexpressed and the same as the subject of the main clause (see section 3.3.1.5). Finally, the particle *бы* alone may occur as a linking verb in condition clauses or as illustrated below with optative sense.

Поскорей бы.	If only it were quicker!
Чаю бы.	Some tea would be good!
Отдохнуть бы тебе.	You ought to get a rest.
Чаю бы выпить.	It would be nice to drink some tea.
Хорошо бы стать капитаном парохода.	It would be good to become a ship's master.

3.1.5.2 *Onomatopoeitics as V*. Certain onomatopoeitic expressions, which otherwise occur as interjections, may function as verb phrases.

(Он подходит сзади) и трáх его по головé.	(He comes up from behind) and smashes him on the head.
Татьяна прыг в другие сéни.	Tatiana jumps into the other passage.

Most of these expressions are roots of regular verbs, e.g., *тра́хнуть* 'to crash, bang', *прыга́ть* 'to jump'.

3.1.5.3 *Defective imperatives*. Certain borrowed items, as *ма́рш* 'march' and *сто́п* 'stop', serve as uninflected imperative verbs. Likewise, the native elements *на́* 'take it' and *ну́* 'well, then' are to be regarded as imperative verbs, since they may take the plural

imperative ending *-t, i*: *háte*, *húte*, *and* serve as verbs in sentences:

Нá тебе кн́игу!	Here's the book.
Нú тебя к чéрту!	Go to the devil!

3.1.6 The conjunction (C)

Conjunctions serve as introducers or connectors of syntactic units, primarily of sentences. Conjunctions serve to link syntactic units, but may also simply introduce unconnected units (compare some usages of *да*, *и*, etc., below). Certain of these also serve as *D*. They occur in initial position, i.e., before the rest of the sentences they introduce or connect, and are of two types, as listed below.

1) Subordinators.

ёсли (see 3.3.1.6 below)

хот́я (хóть)

Хот́я он́ хоро́шо рабо́тает, но не мо́жет ста́ть заве́дующим.	Although he works well, he can- not become a director.
---	---

что (see 3.3.1.4 below)

пока́

Пока́ она́ чита́ет, он́ пи́шет пи́сьма.	While she reads, he writes letters.
--	--

Note that when *пока́* introduces a sentence with an imperfective verb it corresponds to English 'while'; with a negated perfective verb it corresponds to 'until'.

Я́ до́лго сле́дил за не́ю взо́ром, пока́ её шля́пка не скры́лась за куста́р- никами и ска́лами.	I followed her a long time with my gaze, until her hat was hidden behind the bushes and rocks.
--	---

и́бо

Я́ пригласи́л свое́го спу́тника выпить́ вме́сте стака́н ча́ю, и́бо со мно́й бы́л чугу́нный ча́йник.	I invited my travelling companion to drink a glass of tea together with me, since I had an iron teakettle.
--	---

пу́сть (пуска́й)

Пуска́й я́ сла́б—мо́й ме́ч си́лен.	Though I am weak, my sword is mighty.
Пу́сть войде́т.	Let him come in.

2) Coordinators (coordinating conjunctions). Coordinators serve to link two grammatically comparable elements (words, phrases, clauses). Two grammatically comparable elements linked by a coordinator may substitute for one such element. For example:

(a) as the subject of a clause (two noun phrases):

<u>Мой брат и ваша сестра</u> идут в школу.	My brother and your sister are on their way to school.
--	---

(b) as direct object in a predicate (two noun phrases):

Хотите <u>кофе или чай?</u>	Do you want coffee or tea?
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(c) as the verb phrase in a predicate (two verb phrases):

Наш сын <u>ни работает ни</u> <u>учится.</u>	Our son neither works nor studies.
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(d) two main clauses form an independent sentence:

Он спит, а жена работает.	He sleeps and his wife works.
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The principle coordinators are и (и...и) 'and', а 'and, but', ни ... ни 'neither—nor', или (или... или) 'or, either—or', но 'but.' A somewhat special coordinator used in comparison is чем:

Я больше люблю борщ, чем кашу.	I like beetroot soup more than gruel.
Он моложе, чем его брат.	He is younger than his brother.
Он быстрее работает, чем наш друг.	He works faster than our friend.

Of course some of the foregoing words do not always function as coordinators: Thus, И Иван работает хорошо. 'John too works well.' is a special adverb (D) modifying the phrase Иван and comparable to other such adverbs as только 'only', тоже 'also'.

Additional coordinators are:

либо

Либо ты ко мне приедешь, либо я приеду к тебе.	Either you come to me, or I come to you.
---	---

да

Чёрен, да не ворон, рога- тый, да не бык.	Black, yet not a crow; horned, yet not a bull.
Щи да каша, пища наша.	Cabbage soup and groats, that's our food.
Да здравствуют рабочие люди всех стран!	Long live the laboring people of all countries!
Да ты готов?	Well, are you ready?

то́

Не то́ ве́тер захло́пнул
две́рь, не то́ кто́-то
вошёл с у́лицы.

Either the wind slammed the door,
or someone came in from the
street.

То́ ви́дится крест лаза-
ре́тной ка́реты, то́
слы́шится вы́стрел.

At times one sees the cross of
the hospital car; at times a
shot is heard.

CC = C: Some combinations of conjunctions function as single conjunctions.

да и

Смотрите́ль постоя́л, по-
стоя́л, да и ушёл.

The overseer stood and stood
and finally went away.

Many items classified in traditional Russian grammars as conjunctions are actually relative adverbs (ка́к, когда́), or syntactic combinations of adverb or adjective plus relative adverb or conjunction (так как, потому́ что, ме́жду те́м как, etc.), or prepositional phrases (за то́ = за + то).

3.2 THE SENTENCE

3.2.1 Structure of the simple sentence

3.2.1.1 *The verb phrase as minimal sentence.* The minimal sentence type is V alone.

Чита́йте!
Разуме́ется.
Стуча́т.

Read!
It's understood.
Someone's knocking.

3.2.1.2 *The subject.* The verb in non-imperative sentences usually has a subject expressed by N_{nom}.

Авто́бус идё́т.
Я чита́л.

The bus is coming.
I was reading.

If the subject is clear from the context, it is frequently omitted in colloquial style.

Я была́ ве́сь де́нь в го́роде.
Купи́ла матери́ал на
пла́тье.

I was in town all day. I bought
material for a dress.

Impersonal sentences referring to natural processes, etc., have no subject. Their verbs have 3 sg. neuter formal agreement.

Греми́т.
Греме́ло.

It's thundering.
It thundered.

Impersonal sentences in which the agent is an unspecified person or persons also have no subject, but 3 pl. agreement.

Укра́ли!	They stole it; It's been stolen!
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3.2.1.3 *Modifiers of the verb.* The V may also have modifiers, which may be D, PN, or subordinate clauses.

Та́м стуча́т.	Someone's knocking there.
В ко́мнате ду́ет.	There's a draft in the room.
Сестра́ чита́ла, пока́ я писа́л пи́сьма.	Sister was reading while I wrote letters.

3.2.1.4 *Objects of the verb.* The verb may also have objects, i.e., N's in other cases than nominative or prepositional. If the object is N_{acc}, it is called the direct object.² Most verbs which take objects take direct (accusative) objects:

Укра́ли <u>мо́й чемода́н</u> .	My suitcase was stolen.
Я ви́дел <u>его́ бра́та</u> .	I saw his brother.
<u>Меня́</u> влекло́ на Во́лгу.	I was drawn to the Volga.

If the verb is negated, the direct object is usually (in about two-thirds of the occurrences of negated verb with direct object) N_{gen} rather than N_{acc}, i.e., sentences with verbs which take N_{acc} objects undergo a transformation changing N_{acc} to N_{gen} when the verb is negated.³

Никто́ не укра́л <u>ва́шего чемода́на</u> .	Nobody stole your suitcase.
---	-----------------------------

If the direct object is a noun designating a commodity which occurs in numbers or divisible masses, the direct object may be in the genitive, when an indefinite amount or number is indicated.⁴

Я пойду́ куплю́ ма́рок и конве́ртов.	I will go and buy stamps and envelopes.
Да́йте мне́ вина́.	Give me some wine.

Contrast:

Я возьму́ ма́рки и конве́рты.	I will take the stamps and envelopes.
Да́йте мне́ вино́.	Give me the wine.

3.2.1.5 *Indirect objects.* Many verbs which take direct objects also take, as additional objects, N_{dat} (indirect object). The indirect object usually designates a person affected by or interested in the action performed upon the direct object or to whom the action is

directed:

Она́ дала́ кни́гу <u>учи́телю</u> .	She gave the book to the teacher.
Он пи́шет письмо́ <u>свое́й</u> <u>ма́тери</u> .	He's writing a letter to his mother.

A few verbs may take an object in the genitive in addition to a direct object.

Правите́льство лиши́ло мою́ сестру́ её пра́в.	The government deprived my sis- ter of her rights.
--	---

3.2.1.6 *Objects in various cases.* Some verbs do not take objects in the accusative, but require ("govern") objects in other cases.

N_{inst}

Дире́ктор руковóдит <u>фа́брикой</u> .	The director directs the factory.
Он владе́ет <u>пятью́ дома́ми</u> .	He is the owner of five houses.

N_{dat}

Я помо́г ва́шему сы́ну.	I helped your son.
Позвони́те <u>мое́й сестре́</u> .	Telephone my sister.

N_{gen}

Я бою́сь <u>её́ отца́</u> .	I am afraid of her father.
Мы избежа́ли <u>опа́сности</u> .	We escaped danger.

Some verbs may take objects in more than one case, often with a slight difference in meaning.

Они́ броса́ли <u>ка́мнями</u> .	They were throwing stones.
Они́ броса́ли <u>ка́мни</u> .	(same)

3.2.1.7 *Nouns as verbal modifiers.* Sometimes an N may function as a verbal modifier rather than an object.⁵ Such are principally either N_{acc}, N_{gen}, or N_{inst} as time expressions:

Он смея́лся <u>все́́ утро</u> .	He laughed all morning.
Они́ прилете́ли <u>пе́рвого</u> <u>февра́ля</u> .	They flew in February first.
Сестра́ пришла́ <u>вече́ром</u> .	Sister came in the evening.

3.2.1.8 *N_{inst} as agent or means.* N_{inst} expressing agent or means also serve as verbal modifiers.⁶

Бра́т лови́т ры́бы <u>у́дочкой</u> .	Brother catches fish with a fishing rod.
Ко́ля пи́шет письмо́ <u>карандашо́м</u> .	Kolja's writing a letter with a pencil.
До́м покрыв́т <u>сне́гом</u> .	The house is covered with snow.
Сочине́ния пи́шутся <u>ученика́ми</u> .	Compositions are written by the students.

3.2.1.9 *Instrumental complement* (resulting from transformation of an equational sentence). Sentences containing a class of verbs including считать 'consider', провозгласить 'proclaim', обозначить 'designate', etc., besides an accusative object, also show N_{inst} . In sentences of the form $N_{nom} V N_{acc} N_{inst}$, $N_{acc} + N_{inst}$ represent a transform, embedded in the larger sentence, of an equational sentence where N_{acc} is derived from the subject of the equational sentence and N_{inst} from the complement. Я его́ счита́ю большо́м учёны́м. 'I consider him a great scholar' is derived from Я счита́ю plus Он большо́й учёны́й.

3.2.1.10 *Impersonal sentences with instrumental agent*. The following type of 3 sg. impersonal sentences with N_{inst} as means appears.

Па́хнет <u>се́ном</u> .	There is a fragrance of hay.
Па́хло <u>се́ном</u> .	There was a fragrance of hay.
Его́ уби́ло <u>мо́лнией</u> .	He was killed by lightning.

3.2.2 Special sentence types

3.2.2.1 *The equational sentence*. The equational sentence equals subject + linking verb + complement. The subject is N_{nom} as in any other sentence. The linking verb is usually some form of быть 'to be', but may be any of a list of verbs which do not occur with objects and which signify being or becoming (явля́ться, нахо́диться, ста́ть, сде́латься, and some others).

The complement is N, A, D (adverbs of time or location, principally), or PN .

Студе́нт моё́й бра́т.	The student is my brother.
Студе́нт молодо́й.	The student is young.
Студе́нт та́м.	The student is there.
Э́тот студе́нт из на́шего общежи́тия.	This student is from our dorm.
Э́тот студе́нт моё́их ле́т.	This student is my age.

In addition there may be verbal modifiers present.

Студент уже не молодой. The student is no longer young.

3.2.2.2 *The predicate complement.* An N as complement is in the nominative or instrumental. The instrumental usually occurs with the future and past of быть and with linking verbs other than быть.

В то время он был студентом. At that time he was a student.

Она стала инженером. She became an engineer.

Я сделаюсь директором треста. I will be made director of the trust.

An A complement is almost always nominative when the linking verb is быть; with other verbs, it may be nominative or instrumental.

Он был очень милый (мил). He was very pleasant.

Он стал очень богатый (богатым). He became very rich.

Она оказалась глупой. She proved to be foolish.

3.2.2.3 *The impersonal equational sentence.* The equational sentence may be impersonal, in which case, of course, no subject is expressed. The most common form is the verb быть plus D.⁷

Холодно. It's cold.

Было жарко. It was hot.

Other verbal modifiers may appear, either before the linking verb, or after the D.

Здесь холодно. It's cold here.

Летом было жарко в Крыму. During the summer it was hot in Crimea.

If a living being is concerned, it will be indicated by N_{dat}.

Мне холодно. I'm cold.

Студенту было скучно. The student was bored.

A past passive participle in the short neuter singular form may be the complement in this type of sentence.

Ему не сказано об этом. He has not been informed of this.

Negative statements of being (existence) are usually impersonal with the item stated not to exist appearing as N_{gen} .

Тáм нёт мостá.	There is no bridge there.
Егó нёт в гóроде.	He's not in the city.
У мeн́я нёт та́ких кни́г.	I have no such books.

3.2.2.4 *The pseudo-verbal sentence.* Such a sentence has as its verb phrase a pseudo-verbal construction, consisting of a word other than a verb, plus linking быть (normally, in that order). Such constructions are pseudo-verbal, because, like verbs, they enter into constructions with infinitives (as objects) and four of them take N objects. One, должен быть, has as its first element a short form adjective which agrees with a nominative subject.

Она́ <u>должна́</u> <u>была́</u> купíть атлас.	She was supposed to buy an atlas.
--	-----------------------------------

The rest are impersonal; if living beings are concerned, they are indicated by N_{dat} .

<u>Нельз́я</u> танцевáть в столовке.	Dancing in the dining hall is not permitted.
Ему́ <u>нелз́я</u> винá.	He is not allowed wine.
Тáм <u>мóжно</u> танцевáть.	There one may dance.
На́м <u>пора́</u> и́дти.	It is time for us to leave.
Мне́ <u>жа́ль</u> егó сестру́.	I'm sorry for his sister.
Моёй сестре́ <u>на́до</u> но́вую тетра́дку.	My sister needs a new notebook.
Отсю́да дере́вню <u>ви́дно</u> .	One can see the village from here.
Му́зыку <u>слы́шно</u> че́рез окно́.	Music is heard through the window.

Ви́дно, слы́шно are adverbs derived from adjective stems; пора́ is a жена́-noun; мóжно, нелз́я, на́до, жа́ль (жа́лко) are undeclined words (presumably D). На́до, ви́дно, слы́шно, жа́ль take N_{acc} objects (direct objects). Нелз́я, being negative, takes N_{gen} objects. Agreement of linking быть is neuter sg., even with items like пора́ which are by origin non-neuter nouns:

Пора́ <u>бы́ло</u> уходи́ть.	It was time to go away.
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3.2.2.5 *Minor sentence types.* Certain other minor sentence types occur; these include the following:

- 1) N_{nom} used in citation, enumeration, stage settings, designa-

tions of shops, offices, streets, places, literary works, etc., slogans, and the like.

Москва́	Moscow (as citation or dictionary entry)
хле́б со́ль огу́рцы́	bread salt cucumbers (listing)
Почта́мт	post office (sign on building)
Ти́хий До́н	(title of a Russian work)

The foregoing should probably be distinguished from the occurrence of N_{nom} in narration or exclamation, which probably represents an equational sentence with zeroed linking verb, since the linking verb may appear in past or future; compare Тишина́. 'It is (or was) quiet.', and Была́ тишина́. 'It was quiet.'

2) N_{nom} used as vocative: Ива́н! Зы́на!

3) Deictic sentences consisting of the deictic D *вот* plus N_{nom} as subject and verbal modifiers such as occur in *Вот вам хоро́ший приме́р.* 'Here's a good example for you.', and *Вот он.* 'Here he is.'

4) Negatives and exclamations, as *да́* 'yes', *не́т* 'no' (both are D).

3.2.3 Interrogation

Sentences treated thus far have been statements or commands. The same basic sentence types may also occur as questions, with certain transformations of their structure.

As in very many languages, in Russian there are two types of questions which we may term respectively question-word questions and alternative questions.

In question-word questions, one element of the sentence, represented by a question-word (interrogative pronouns, adverbs, etc., such as *who, what, when, where, why, etc.*), represents an unknown for the speaker, which he requests his interlocutor to clarify. In Russian these typically (not always) begin with /k/ (cf. English "*wh-*"): *кто́, когда́, кото́рый*, etc. Question-word questions in Russian usually have the same word order as the corresponding non-questions, except the question-word, no matter what its function in the sentence, stands in initial position (see 3.6(4) below).

Где́ ты́ была́, Ма́ша?	Where were you, Maša?
О чём же вы́ с не́й гово- рили́?	What did you talk about with her?
Что́ вы́ чита́ете?	What are you reading?
Когда́ ты́ вернёшь мне́ мою́ кни́гу?	When are you going to return me my book?

However, in case of emphasis, another element may precede the question-word.

А вы когда идёте?	And how about you, when are you going?
А вам зачём знать это?	And why do you need to know that?

Question-word questions have falling terminal contour with primary stress on the semantically most important word, or in "neutral" non-emphatic questions, on the final word. Unlike statements and commands, however, the intonation pattern is /⁽²⁾321/ with highest pitch on the question word and a fall from medium to low pitch after the primary stress.

/ ² ku ³ dá+vi+xat,ít,i+,ít ² t,ĩ ¹ ∨ /	Where do you want to go?
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Alternative questions, on the other hand, as their name implies, request an alternative as an answer; usually a reply of "yes" or "no" regarding the truth of their meaning-content (for this reason they are often called yes/no questions).

Вы печатаете свой произведение в журналах?	Do you publish your works in magazines?
Ты был вчера в институте?	Were you at the institute yesterday?
Отвёт есть?	Is there an answer?

Sometimes, however, they state some other alternative, as in Вы пьёте чай или кофе? 'Do you drink tea or coffee?' and Вам послали сюда или вы сами решили прийти? 'Did they send you here or did you decide yourself to come over?'

Typically, the alternative question has the same form and word order as the corresponding statement, but the question is signaled by a different intonation pattern.⁸ The alternative question typically shows falling terminal contour with primary stress and a sharp rise-fall on the stressed syllable of its semantically most important word (in "neutral," non-emphatic questions this will be the verb). If the primary stressed syllable is the absolute final syllable of the question, usually instead of rise-fall we have sustained high pitch with no falling terminal contour.

/ ² vi+tám+ ³ ˆbí ¹ l,ı ¹ /	Were you there?
but	
/ ² tı+tám+ ³ bíl ³ /	Were you there?

The foregoing statements apply to the last (or sole) major segment of the question. If a question has one or more non-final major segments, their intonation pattern is similar to that of non-final major segments of statements.

Alternative questions may contain the unstressed question-particle *ли*. It is attached to the semantically most important word of the sentence, which, as mentioned, is ordinarily the verb. The particle *ли* in effect makes a question-word of the word to which it is attached (follows) and that word is shifted from its usual word order position to initial position in the sentence.

Рабо́таете ли вы́ на фа́брике? Do you work at the factory?

Compare:

Вы́ рабо́таете на фа́брике?

In emphatic use, of course, *ли* may be attached to other items than the verb:

За́втра ли начина́ются ле́кции? Why, is it *tomorrow* that
classes begin?

Use of *ли* is characteristic of bookish style, rather than of colloquial language, which prefers sentences marked simply by intonation. In negative questions however, *ли* is fairly common in the spoken language.

Не оста́лось ли ко́го в до́ме? Did anybody stay in the house?
Не хоте́те ли ча́ю? Don't you want some tea?

Alternative questions may be introduced by the D *ра́зве* 'really, maybe, unless' and *неуже́ли* (не + уже́ + ли) 'really'. Both indicate an attitude of surprise on the part of the questioner that the content of the question should be true. Note that *ра́зве* may be used in non-questions, while *неуже́ли* (because of *ли*) only introduces questions.

Ра́зве вы́ не зна́ете? Why, don't you know?
Ра́зве он прие́хал? Has he come?
Неуже́ли вы́ не мо́жете
прие́хать? Can't you come, really?
Неуже́ли э́то пра́вда? Is that really true?

A minor question type consists not of a grammatically complete sentence, but of a sentence fragment (usually N) introduced by *a* (the meaning is usually "And (what about)...?"). Typically, its terminal contour is rising, with intonation showing a fall-rise pattern, the lowest point being on the syllable with primary stress.

А́ Ка́тя? And what about Kate?

3.3 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Subordinate clauses are of two kinds: *relative clauses*, which contain a relative word functioning grammatically both in the main and subordinate clause and serving to link these two structures, and *incorporated clauses*, which are simply sentences embodied in larger structures and filling a grammatical function of N (usually as object or subject, sometimes as attribute to N) or D in that structure.

Incorporated questions are called indirect questions, while incorporated declarative sentences here will be termed indirect statements. We will first take up incorporated clauses and then treat relative clauses.

3.3.1 Incorporated clauses

Incorporated clauses are either direct quotations or indirect clauses.

3.3.1.1 *Direct quotations*, which reproduce material quoted without change, as objects of verbs of saying, asking, etc., are the grammatically simpler, but less frequent type of incorporated clauses.

Examples:

Он сказа́л,—Я рабо́таю в библиоте́ке.	He said, "I work in the library."
Она́ спроси́ла,—Где́ ты живёшь?	She asked, "Where do you live?"

3.3.1.2 *Indirect incorporated clauses*, if they quote an utterance, do not reproduce quoted material verbatim, but change the person-reference from the reference basis of the speaker quoted to that of the speaker quoting. The two sentences above, changed to indirect quotations, would be,

Он сказа́л, (что) он рабо́тает в библиоте́ке.	He said he worked in the library.
Она́ спроси́ла, где́ он живёт.	She asked where he lived.

Note that in indirect quotations Russian retains the time reference basis of the original utterance and does not change it to the reference basis of the quoting speaker as English frequently does (compare difference in tenses between the Russian utterances and the English translations in the last two examples).

It also should be noted that only a minority of incorporated clauses are quotations. In terms of structure, it is convenient to divide all indirect incorporated clauses into indirect questions and non-questions. Non-questions may be further divided into indirect statements, condition clauses, etc.

3.3.1.3 *Indirect questions*. Both types of questions which occur independently, question-word questions and alternative questions, occur also as indirect questions. When incorporated as indirect questions, alternative questions almost always occur with *ли*. Word order in indirect questions is the same as in independent questions.

Indirect questions occupy N position in the sentence, usually as object, sometimes as subject, rarely in apposition to another N.

Examples:

1) Question-word questions.

(a) as objects:

Он не знает, где она рабо-
тает.

He doesn't know where she
works.

Он вам скажет, кто там
директор.

He will tell you who's the
director there.

Скажите нам, что надо
делать.

Tell us what should be done.
(N.B. что /štó/ stressed,
distinguishing it from un-
stressed introducer что
/šta/)

Я спросил, когда открыва-
ются двери.

I asked when the doors open.

Мы узнали, чьи это книги.

We found out whose books they
were.

(b) as subjects:

Ещё не известно, кто будет
руководить работой.

It is still unknown who will
direct the work.

Мне теперь было ясно, где
находится противник.

Now it was clear to me where
the enemy was.

2) Alternative questions.

(a) as objects:

Мать спросила, далеко ли до
завода.

Mother asked whether it was
far to the factory.

Я не знаю, работает ли он
на заводе.

I don't know whether he is
working at the factory.

Ива́н спра́шивает, бу́дет ли
Ири́на на собра́нии.
Я не зна́ю, лу́чше ли пойти́
в теа́тр или на ко́нцер́т.

John is asking if Irene will be
at the meeting.
I don't know whether it's bet-
ter to go to the theater or to
the concert.

(b) as subjects:

Неизве́стно, верне́тся ли он
сего́дня.

It's uncertain whether he will
return today.

3.3.1.4 *Indirect statements.* These are normally introduced by что /šta/ (which, however, may sometimes be omitted in colloquial usage, particularly after verbs of saying, believing, etc.). Word order is the same as in independent statements. Their usual function is in place of N.

1) as objects:

Я слы́шал, что Фома́ идёт
сего́дня ве́чером.
Я не ду́маю, что он написа́л
э́то письмо́.
Говоря́т, что вы́ боле́ли
анги́ной.
Говоря́т, вы́ боле́ли анги́ной.

I heard that Thomas is going
this evening.
I don't think that he wrote this
letter.
They say that you were sick
with a bad sore throat.
(same meaning)

2) as subjects:

Ка́жется, что егó зде́сь не́т.
Ка́жется, егó зде́сь не́т.
Ста́ло я́сно, что мы́ заб-
луди́лись.

It seems that he's not here.
(same meaning)
It became clear that we were
lost.

3) as attribute to то́:

Мне́ о́чень меша́ет то́, что он
та́к гро́мко говоря́т.
Дире́ктор нача́л с тогó, что
ли́чно познако́мился со
все́ми.
Все́ ра́ды тому́, что нас-
тупи́ла весна́.

It disturbs me very much, that
he talks so loudly.
The director started by per-
sonally becoming acquainted
with everyone.
Everyone is happy that spring
has begun.

4) as attribute to тако́й:

Оте́ц шёл таки́ми бы́стрыми
шага́ми, что ма́льчик с
трудом поспева́л за ни́м.

The father walked with such
rapid steps that the boy had
difficulty in keeping up with
him.

Туман был такой, что в двух шагах ничего не было видно.	The fog was such that nothing two steps away could be seen.
---	---

5) as attribute to так (D function):

Мы сидели на углу бастиона так, что в обе стороны могли видеть всё.	We sat on the corner of the bastion in such a way that we could see everything on both sides.
---	---

Мы так устали, что не можем идти больше.	We are so tired, that we can't walk any further.
--	--

3.3.1.5 *Indirect statements containing бы*. When there is an element of uncertainty, hypothesis, demand, obligation or wish implied, the *бы* construction will be used in the *что*-clause. *Бы* will occur immediately after *что* and *что* plus *бы* are written together as one word: *чтобы* or *чтоб*. Note that clauses with *что-бы* are used in exactly the same syntactic functions as ordinary *что*-clauses.

1) as object of verbs of ordering, requesting, telling:

Я хочу, чтобы вы купили эти книги.	I want you to buy these books.
------------------------------------	--------------------------------

Он сказал, чтобы вы взяли его чемодан.	He said that you should take his suitcase.
--	--

Contrast:

Он сказал, что вы взяли его чемодан.	He said you took his suitcase.
--------------------------------------	--------------------------------

2) as object of other verbs (where unreality or hypothesis is involved):

Никто не помнит, чтобы здесь кто-нибудь жил или собирался жить.	Nobody remembers that anyone has ever lived here or intended to live here.
---	--

3) as subject:

Нужно, чтобы все приехали.	It is necessary that everyone should have arrived.
----------------------------	--

4) in apposition to то:

Вместо того, чтобы сразу войти в комнату, он остановился на пороге.	Instead of immediately entering the room, he stopped at the threshold.
---	--

Задача заключается в том, чтобы как можно лучше выполнить задание.	How best to accomplish the task constitutes the problem.
--	--

A special use of что + бы is in apposition to для того expressing purpose. Very frequently, in purpose clauses, the для того may be omitted.

Он работал (для того), чтобы его семья могла жить.	He worked so that his family might live.
Они работают, чтобы жить.	They work to live.

Note in the above sentences that, if the subject of the subordinate clause is not expressed because it is the same as in the main clause, or because it is impersonal, the infinitive rather than the past is used in the бы construction.

5) in apposition to такой:

Давайте запоем такую песню, чтобы все могли подпевать нам.	Let's sing a song such that everyone will be able to join in.
--	---

6) in apposition to other N:

Я послал ему письмо, чтобы он приехал.	I sent him a letter, that he should come here.
---	---

3.3.1.6 *Conditional sentences.* Conditional sentences are composed of a condition clause (if-clause), which is a subordinate clause, and a result clause, which is the main clause. The condition clause is subordinate to and functions as a D in the result clause. The condition clause is introduced by если (если is solely an introducer, fulfilling no grammatical function in the subordinate clause), less often by раз, коли, коль, and rarely by когда:

Читатель ошибается, если представляет себе тайгу в виде рощи.	The reader is mistaken, if he conceives of the taiga (Siberian coniferous forest) as a simple wood.
---	--

Если лёд на реке тронется, мы не сможем переправиться на тот берег.	If the ice on the river begins to move, we won't be able to get over to the other shore.
---	---

Раз ты не знаешь, молчи. Не будет скуки, коли заняты руки.	If you don't know, keep quiet. You won't be bored, if you keep busy.
--	--

Если же никогó нé было дóма, тó я оставáлся и ждáл.	If no one was at home, I used to stay and wait.
---	--

If the condition is unreal, the бы construction (which admits no tense distinction) is used. The бы always follows е́сли immediately; е́сли бы is often contracted to е́сли б.

Я́ променя́л бы, е́сли б мо́г.	I'd change it if I could.
Е́сли бы он́ мне сказа́л об э́том, я́ бы помо́г.	If he had told me about it, I would have helped.
О́х ле́то кра́сное, любя́л бы я́ тебя́, когдá б не зно́й, да пы́ль, да комары́, да му́хи.	Ah, beautiful summer, how I would love you, were it not for the heat, the dust, the mosquitoes and the flies.

The if-clause may stand before, after, or (more rarely) may be inserted into the result clause. If the if-clause stands before the result clause, the latter may be introduced by то́, та́к or тогдá.

Е́сли светя́т со́лнце и на не́бе не́т облако́в, то пе́ние и за́пах се́на чу́вствуются сильнее́.	If the sun is shining and there are no clouds, the singing and aroma of hay will be more strongly felt.
--	--

Sometimes a clause with no introducer, but with imperative verb may serve as a condition clause.

Е́сли бы он́и мне́ не поме- ша́ли, я́ ко́нчил бы́ рабо́ту сего́дня ве́чером.	If they hadn't disturbed me, I would have finished the work this evening.
Не помеша́й он́и мне́, я́ ко́нчил бы́ рабо́ту сего́- дня ве́чером.	(same meaning)
Верни́сь он́ ра́ньше, он заста́л бы на́с.	Had he returned earlier, he would have found us in.
Е́сли бы он́ верну́лся ра́н- ьше, он́ заста́л бы на́с.	(same meaning)

3.3.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses contain a word which serves some function both in the subordinate clause and in the superordinate structure. In Russian, such a relative word is almost invariably one which may serve as an interrogative in independent sentences. The relative word thus serves to link the subordinate and superordinate

clauses. In the superordinate structure it may serve as N, noun attribute, as apposition to N or D, or as D.

Word order is the same as in interrogative sentences.

3.3.2.1 *Nominal clauses*. These are clauses in which the relative word functions in the subordinate clause as noun or adjective. The various types will be listed below according to the relative word they contain.

1) *который*—main clause function: attribute to N, sometimes apposition to a deictic adjective such as *тот*; subordinate clause function: substantivized adjective.

Это та девушка, о которой мы говорили.	That's the girl we were talking about.
Вот человек, которому вы дали письмо.	Here is the man you gave the letter to.
Это та книга, которая тут была вчера.	That's the book which was here yesterday.
Я тот, которому внимала ты в полудночной тишине.	I am the one to whom you listened attentively in the quiet of midnight.

2) *какой*—main clause function: attribute to N, sometimes apposition to *такой*; subordinate clause function: substantivized adjective or predicate adjective complement.

Сейчас принесу самую длинную, какая есть.	I will bring the longest one available right away.
Этот танец был такой, какой люди уже давно не видали.	It was a dance, the like of which the people have not seen long since.

3) *чей*—very bookish, main clause function: attribute to noun; subordinate clause function: possessive adjective.

Я был рад увидеть друга, чьи советы мне были нужны.	I was glad to see a friend, whose advice I needed.
---	--

Compare:

(Я был рад увидеть друга, советы которого мне были нужны.)	I was glad to see a friend, whose advice I needed.
--	--

Счастлив тот, чья родина Советский Союз.	Fortunate is he, whose homeland is the Soviet Union.
--	--

4) *каков*—rare, main clause function: apposition to *таков*; subordinate clause function: predicate adjective complement.

Какóв я́ прёжде бы́л, такóв As I was before, so I am now.
и ны́не я́.

5) ктó, чтó—main clause function: usually apposition to substantivized тóт, вёсь, вся́кий, ка́ждый, любóй and to the pronouns никто́, ничтó; subordinate clause function: N.

Всё, чтó говорíл сын.	Everything that the son said.
Не спра́шивай меня́ о то́м, чегó уже́ нёт.	Don't ask me about that which no longer exists.
Ктó и́шет, то́т всегда́ найдёт.	He who searches will always find.
Я́ не то́т, за когó вы́ меня́ принимáете.	I am not the one, for whom you mistake me.
Я́ принёс то́, чтó ты просíл.	I brought what you asked for.
Я́ не зна́л тогó, ктó до́лжен бы́л придти́.	I didn't know the one who was to come.

(a) ктó may also be in apposition to abstract э́то, то́.

А е́сли ктó для́ меня́ не по- ня́тен, так э́то моя́ ба́бушка.	If there's someone whom I can't understand, it's my grandmother.
---	--

(b) ктó in nominative only occurs occasionally (in certain styles) in apposition to a noun.

Ту́т э́ти солда́ты, ктó по не- разу́мию свое́му малоду́шно положи́ли ору́жие, узна́ли сты́д.	Here those soldiers, who through their own ignorance meekly surrendered their arms, felt shame.
---	--

(c) чтó functioning in the subordinate clause as a N_{nom} or N_{acc} without a preposition may serve as attribute to an inanimate noun.

Под дере́вьями, чтó росли́ во́зле до́ма, стоя́ла скамей́ка.	A bench stood under the trees, which grew near the house.
Дере́вня, чтó мы́ прое́хали, стоя́ла на бере́гу́ о́зера.	The village we drove through was situated on the lake shore.

(d) In colloquial usage, this чтó may also serve as attribute to nouns denoting an animate being.

Во́н у тогó студéнта, чтó прошё́л.	That student over there who just passed has it.
Мо́жет бы́ть во́н то́т, чтó прошё́л.	Maybe that one, walking along there.

(e) *кто́, что́* may serve as attributes to adjectival *то́т*.

Это́ был то́т челове́к, когó все́ жда́ли.	That was the man everyone was waiting for.
--	---

(f) *кто́, что́* may function as N in both clauses (through omission of a form of *то́т* to which they would otherwise be attributes). In such an event, the pronoun is in the case form required by its function in the subordinate clause.

Сча́слив, кто́ это́ ви́дит свои́ми гла́зѧми.	Fortunate is he, who sees it with his own eyes.
Случи́лось, (то́) чего́ никто́ не ожида́л.	That, which no one expected, happened.
Кто́ говори́т это́, вре́т.	Whoever says that is lying.

3.3.2.2 *Adverbial clauses.* The relative word in these clauses is an adverb. In the subordinate clause, its function is always predicate adverb. In the main clause it usually serves in apposition to a predicate adverb, as predicate adverb (often through omission of a predicate adverb to which it would otherwise be in apposition), rarely as attribute to N.

1) in apposition to D.

Мы отпра́вились туда́, где собра́лись все́.	We went there, where everyone had gathered.
Я сде́лал та́к, ка́к он сказа́л.	I did as he said.

2) as D in main clause.

Он жи́л, ка́к до́лжен жи́ть бо́ец, и у́мер ка́к солда́т (умира́ет).	He lived as a warrior ought, and died as a soldier (dies).
Я все́ сде́лал (та́к), ка́к вы проси́ли.	I did everything as you asked.
Это́ случи́лось (тогда́), когда́ я жи́л в Москве́.	This happened when I lived in Moscow.

3) apposition to N.

в го́роде, где́ он жи́л Я по́мню то́ утро, когда́ он верну́лся.	in the town, where he lived I remember that morning, when he returned.
---	--

3.4 QUASI-CLAUSES

Quasi-clauses are units which are similar to sentences in structure, but lack certain characteristics of real sentences. Quasi-

clauses have as their verb phrase non-finite verb forms (infinitive, gerund, participles). With the exception of the infinitive quasi-clause, there is no subject within the quasi-clause so that it consists of a predicate alone—a verb phrase accompanied by other predicate elements. The word order of the elements within the quasi-clause is, in general, that of the analogous elements in a simple sentence.

3.4.1 Infinitive quasi-clauses

1) Among quasi-clauses, infinitive quasi-clauses are the only ones which occur as independent sentences. As such they occur under the following two circumstances:

(a) In commands (this type of command is abrupt and impersonal and occurs in military drill, political slogans, and the like).

Мѣдленно ѣздить!	Drive slowly!
Молчать!	Be quiet!
Подписать!	Sign!
Взять эту высотѹ!	Take that hill!

(b) N_{nom} subject plus infinitive (invariably in that order) may occur, indicating either the sudden beginning of an action in the past (a usage not frequent in the contemporary standard language) or expressing incredulity that a particular action should be supposed.

Я бежать, а они кричать.	I started to run and they started to shout.
Я—ревновать?	Me be jealous?

2) An infinitive quasi-clause may replace a subordinate clause with finite verb.

(a) An infinitive quasi-clause with бы plus infinitive construction may occur after что, replacing a clause with finite бы construction, if the subject is the same as in the main clause or is impersonal. See 3.3.1.5(d) for examples.

(b) After (до того) как, (перед тем) как, (прежде) чем and in a condition clause which is impersonal or general the infinitive may replace a finite verb.

Перед тем как уйти, мне нужно убрать комнату.	Before leaving I must straighten the room.
Если экономить, то средств хватят.	If one economizes there will be sufficient means.

3) Infinitive quasi-clauses may occur in place of noun phrases, particularly as the subject of a sentence. Here the person(s) concerned, if indicated, will be in the dative case.

(a) as subject:

Зачём спешить?
Ходить по траве воспре-
щается.

Why hurry?
Walking on the grass is for-
bidden. (Keep off the
grass.)

(b) as predicate complement:

Нам пора идти на урок.

It's time for us to go to class.

An infinitive quasi-clause as subject or complement of an equational sentence may have a wide range of "modal" meanings—obligation, necessity, possibility.

The person or entity affected (under obligation, necessity, etc.) is expressed by N_{dat}.

Мне ещё коня поить.
Что делать?

I still must water the horse.
What is to be done? (What is
one to do?)

Всём быть на местах.
Ни вылезть нам, ни люк
открыть—такой огонь
чесал.

Everyone must be in his place.
We were being raked by such a
fire that we could neither
crawl out nor open a
hatchway.

Быть бедё.

There'll be trouble. (Trouble
must be.)

Не мне звонить декану, а
вам.

It's not up to me to call the
dean, but to you.

Не мне было звонить, а вам.

It wasn't up to me to call, but
to you.

The linking verb may be the conditional of быть (past form deleted); the "modal" meaning is often desirability.

Вам бы полечиться.

You ought to undergo some
treatment.

4) They also occur as attributes to N (usually nominal transforms of verbs).

совет заниматься спортом
любитель потанцевать
возможность работать
просьба сесть
мечта поехать
боязнь простудиться

advice to participate in sports
a lover of dancing
possibility of working
request to be seated
dream of travel
fear of catching cold

5) They rarely occur as attributes to an adjective.

МЫ ГОТОВЫ ВЫПОЛНИТЬ СВОЙ ДОЛГ.	We are ready to fulfill our obligations.
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6) As D after verbs of motion, an infinitive quasi-clause may express purpose.

ДИБИЧ ТОТЧАС ПОЕХАЛ ВЫБИРАТЬ ПОЗИЦИИ.	Dibič went at that moment to select positions.
--	---

3.4.2 Participial quasi-clauses

The participle combines the syntactic functions of adjective and verb. Hence, quasi-clauses in which the verb phrase is a participle have the same function as an A (and usually modify a N).

КАКОЙ-ТО ЧЕЛОВЕК, <u>ЧИТАЮЩИЙ</u> <u>ГАЗЕТУ</u> , СИДЕЛ ЗА СТОЛОМ.	A man reading a newspaper sat at the desk.
ВСЕ <u>ЖИВУЩИЕ В МОСКВЕ</u> ГРАЖДАНЕ.	All citizens living in Moscow.

Note that a participial quasi-clause may either follow or precede the noun it modifies. The latter order is characteristic of bookish or official style.

The actor (subject) of the quasi-clause is the noun it modifies, an element outside the quasi-clause.

3.4.3 Gerundial quasi-clauses

The gerund combines the syntactic functions of verb and adverb. Gerundial clauses function as adverbs within the predicate of a clause. Their actor (subject) is the subject of the main clause.

<u>БЫСТРО ВЫПИВШИ КОФЕ</u> , ИВАН ИВАНОВИЧ ВСТАЛ И ПОШЁЛ НА СТАНЦИЮ.	Quickly drinking the coffee, Ivan Ivanovich got up and went to the station.
<u>НЕ БОЯСЬ МОЕГО БРАТА</u> , КОШКА ЗАСНУЛА.	Not fearing my brother, the cat went to sleep.

Gerundial quasi-clauses may occupy any position in the sentence occupied by an adverb, but very frequently precede the subject.

3.5 GRAMMATICAL AGREEMENT (OR CONCORD)

Agreement with regard to the following grammatical categories occurs in Russian:

gender (masc., fem., or neuter; distinguished only in the singular number),

number (sg. or pl.),
case (NAGPDI), and
person (1, 2, 3).

3.5.1 Rules of concord (agreement)

1) Agreement (between adjective and noun) within the phrase. Adjectives in a noun phrase agree with the head of the phrase in regard to number, gender, and case. Examples of noun phrases, showing agreement (the phrase head and agreeing endings are underlined):

мо́я но́вая кни́га	(Nsg. f.)	my new book
на́ши ста́рые пла́тья	(Npl.)	our old dresses
э́тот большо́й сто́л	(Nsg. m.)	this big table
ва́шему больно́му прия́телю	(Dsg. m.)	to your sick friend
те́ми-же ру́сскими автомобі́лями	(I pl.)	by the same Russian automobiles

2) Agreement between the subject and its adjective predicate complement. A predicate complement, if an adjective, agrees with the subject in number and gender.

мо́й бра́т мо́лодой.	(m. sg.)	My brother is young.
его́ сестра́ ста́ла краси́вая.	(f. sg.)	His sister became beautiful.
собра́ние бу́дет интере́сно.	(n. sg.)	The meeting will be interesting.
уро́ки бы́ли ску́чны.	(pl.)	The lessons were boring.

3) Agreement between subject and finite verb forms (present-future and imperative). The present-future and imperative verb forms agree with the subject, if expressed, in terms of person and number.

Я́ пони́маю по-ру́сски.	I understand Russian.
Ты́ чита́ешь исто́рию.	You are reading history.
Собра́ние бу́дет интере́сно.	The meeting will be interesting.
Мы́ зако́чим рабо́ту.	We shall finish the work.

4) The past tense, on the other hand, shows the same sort of agreement as the adjective predicate complement, namely in number and gender.

Сестра́ забы́ла кни́гу.	Sister forgot her book.
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Мы были там.

We were there.

Я была в Москвѣ.I (woman speaking) was in
Moscow.

5) Agreement between the relative and its antecedents. When *какой* or *который* serve as relatives (that is, fulfill a grammatical function in a subordinate clause, but refer to a word in a main clause) they agree with their antecedent (the word referred to) in number and gender; their case is determined by their function in the subordinate clause.

кошка, которая съела рыбу

the cat who ate the fish

кошка, о которой мы говори
ли

the cat we spoke about

учитель, которого ты видел
вчераthe teacher whom you saw
yesterday

6) Agreement of numerals within the noun phrase. When a numeral is in a case other than N or A, it agrees with the noun it modifies in regard to case. The noun modified will always be in the plural.

с двумя молодыми студентами

with two young students

тремя старым учителям

to the three old teachers

о шести русских рублях

about the six Russian rubles

Note that any adjectives present also agree in number and case with the noun modified.

In the nominative and accusative, numerals from 5 to 20, plus multiples of 10 and 100 (i.e., 30, 40, 100, 200, etc.) require the noun modified (and any adjectives accompanying such a noun) to be in the genitive plural.⁹

Я видел пять молодых
студентов.

I saw five young students.

У нас сорок новых книг.

We have forty new books.

When in the nominative, the numerals 2,3,4, and 'both' require that nouns they modify be in the Gsg. Adjectives accompanying such nouns are in the Gpl. or, if the noun is feminine (both *женá*- and *кость*-types), they may be in the Npl., particularly if the Gsg. and Npl. of the noun are identical. Also, adjectives which precede the numeral are usually in the Npl. (rarely in the Gsg.).

два студента

two students

две студентки

two students (girls)

три молодых студента	three young students
три молодые (or молодых)	three young students (girls)
студентки	
мой первые два студента	my first two students

Substantivized adjectives follow the rule stated above for adjectives; that is, if masc. or neuter, they are in the Gpl. after the N of 2,3,4, and оба 'both', while, if feminine, they are usually in the Npl.

два портных	two tailors
три гостиные	three living-rooms

When the numerals 2,3,4, and оба 'both' refer to an inanimate entity, their accusative is identical with the nominative and the rules stated above apply. When the numerals 2,3,4, and оба 'both' refer to a living being, their accusative is identical with their genitive and nouns accompanying them are in the Gpl. Note this is *not* true of other numerals.

Я видела <u>обеих</u> студенток.	I saw both students (girls).
Я видел <u>двух</u> новых студентов.	I saw the two new students.
but	
Я видел <u>пять</u> студенток.	I saw five students (girls).

However, in referring to animals and even sometimes to human beings, the use of an accusative identical with the nominative is admissible.

Я видел две кошки.	I saw two cats.
--------------------	-----------------

Compound numerals (i.e., numerals made up of a succession of numerals) require that the noun (and adjectives accompanying it) they modify, behave agreement-wise, as the last element of the compound would require. Thus,

двадцать два молодых студента	twenty-two young students
шестьдесят семь молодых студентов	sixty-seven young students
сто сорок один русский учитель	a hundred and forty-one Russian teachers

However, compound numerals ending in два, три, and четыре usually have the A identical with the N, even when modifying a noun referring to living beings:

Я видел двадцать два студента.	I saw twenty-two students.
--------------------------------	----------------------------

ты́сяча ‘thousand’, миллио́н ‘million’, and миллиа́рд ‘billion’ are grammatically not numerals, but nouns. They require that nouns following them be in the Gpl. no matter what case they may be in.

ты́сяча молодых студёнтов a thousand young students

However, ты́сяча, in cases other than the N and A and not itself modified by an adjective or numeral, may behave as a numeral, requiring the noun following it to agree in case.

с ты́сячью рублёми (*or* with a thousand rubles
рублёй)

7) Concord of numerals and quantities as subjects with the verb. A numeral in the NA is usually treated as neuter singular as far as verbal concord is involved.

В го́роде бы́ло три́ музе́я. There were three museums in town.

Три́ оста́лось. Three remained.

However, the numeral is likely to be treated as a plural, if the numeral clearly refers to living beings, except when the numeral is modified by a quantitative adverb such as бо́лее, ме́нее, свы́ше, почти́, всего́, то́лько.

Пя́ть де́вушек ко́нчили Five girls finished school.
шко́лу.

Ше́сть лошаде́й бе́гало (*or* Six horses ran about the field.
бе́гали) по по́лю.

Пя́ть ры́б пла́вало (*or* пла́- Five fish swam in the
вали) в аква́риуме.

but

Все́го́ пя́ть де́вушек ко́нчило Only five girls finished
шко́лу. school.

Бо́лее пяти́десяти́ ученико́в More than fifty students wrote
писа́ло сочи́нение. compositions.

Where extremely large numbers of people are involved, the numeral is also treated as a singular.

Четы́ре ты́сячи пятьсо́т се́мь- Four thousand five hundred
деся́т три́ челове́ка рабо́- and seventy three people
тало на э́той фа́брике. worked at this factory.

It is always treated as a plural if the numeral is modified by an adjective.

Э́ти два́дцать хорошо́ рабо́- These twenty work well.
тают.

Adverbial quantifiers such as

немно́го, немно́жко	a little bit
мáло	little
мно́го	a lot
ско́лько	how many
сто́лько	so many
ме́ньше	less

and approximate constructions such as *с десяток* 'about ten' are also usually treated as neuter singular in terms of verbal concord.

О́коло десяти́ студéнтов писа́ло.	About ten students wrote.
Мно́го студéнтов писа́ло плóхо.	Many students wrote poorly.

Nouns and adverbial quantifiers expressing an indefinite number such as *большинство* 'majority', *меньшинство* 'minority', and *несколько* 'several' are treated as neuter singular, unless they are accompanied by a noun denoting persons in the genitive plural, in which case the verb may be either neuter singular or plural. The verb will usually be plural if the persons involved appear as active agents.

Большинство́ голосова́ло за ми́р.	The majority voted for peace.
Большинство́ студéнтов написа́ло (<i>or</i> написа́ли) хорошо́.	The majority of students wrote well.

3.5.2 Addendum on the use of the collective numerals

When in the N or A, the collective numerals require the noun they modify to be in the Gpl.; otherwise collective numeral and accompanying noun are in the same case. In the first instance the collective numerals function as nouns, namely as phrase heads with attribute in Gpl.; in the latter instance the collective numerals function like adjectives, i.e., as attributes.

Collective numerals are used with *дéти* 'children' and with nouns that occur only in the plural. Only the use of *дво́е* 'two', *трёе* 'three', and *чётверо* 'four' in the NA is obligatory; in cases other than NA and in all cases in numbers higher than five, they can always be replaced by a non-collective numeral, and their use in present-day speech is very much on the wane.

трѳе детѳй	three children
двѳе ворѳт	two gates
чѳтверѳ часѳв	four watches

Additional, optional uses of the collective numerals are with pronouns

ѳх бѳло трѳе	there were three of them
вѳм двѳйм	to you two

and with masculine nouns

двѳе студѳнтов	two students
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as phrase heads, without accompanying noun:

ѳн рабѳтает за двѳѳх.	He works for two people.
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3.6 WORD ORDER

1) Direct word order (subject plus predicate):

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Predicate</i>	
ѳ	<u>была</u> в гѳроде.	I was in town.
ѳтласы	<u>ѳсть</u> .	We have atlases.
ѳта рабѳта	о кибернѳтике.	This work is about
		cybernetics.
	<u>Смотрѳла</u> в окнѳ.	I was window-shopping.
	<u>Спроси</u> у Смирнѳва.	Ask Smirnov.
	<u>Заходите</u> .	Come in.
ѳбѳд	готѳв?	Is dinner ready?
ѳѳ	<u>заходи</u> !	You come in!

In the above examples, the order in the predicate is verb (underlined in the examples) plus complements. However, pronouns and sometimes prepositional phrases with pronoun objects, and adverbs, particularly short ones, are usually placed before the verb.

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Predicate</i>	
ѳѳ	ѳгѳ <u>знѳешь</u> ?	You know him?
ѳ	ужѳ <u>спрашивал</u> .	I already asked.
ѳ	о нѳй мнѳгѳ <u>слѳшал</u> .	I've heard a lot about her.
Глѳбус	у мѳнѳ <u>ужѳ ѳсть</u> .	I already have the globe.
Вѳ	чѳсто <u>хѳдите</u> в кинѳ?	Do you often go to the
		movies?

Note, however, that pronoun objects are not so placed in commands without an expressed subject:

Да́й мне кни́гу! Give me the book!

Sometimes for purposes of emphasis even larger items are placed before the verb:

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Predicate</i>	
Ты	О́льгу зна́ешь?	Do you know Olga?
Я́	та́ких а́тласов е́щё не ви́дел.	I've never seen atlases like this.
Я́	то́же е́ё и́мени не за́бо́мнил.	I didn't remember her name either.

Direct word order is characteristic of statements, questions without question-words (which are distinguished from statements only by their intonation contours), and commands.

2) Direct word order with displacement of part of predicate to a position before the subject:

	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Predicate</i>	
Танцева́ть	я́	лю́блю.	Dancing I like.
Тогда́	я́	то́же пойдú сего́дня.	Then I'll go today too.
По-мо́ему	студе́нты	писа́ли неплóхо.	In my opinion the students didn't write badly.

Displacing part of the predicate to initial position usually involves increased emphasis on the element so placed, except in the case of adverbs of time and place, for which such placement is normal.

3) Inverted order (predicate plus subject):

<i>Predicate</i>	<i>Subject</i>	
У нас вчера́ <u>бы́ли</u>	экза́мены.	We had examinations yesterday.
Во́т <u>идёт</u>	на́ш дире́ктор.	There comes our director.
У нас <u>е́сть</u>	у́ксус.	We have vinegar.
Уже́	звонóк.	The bell's rung already.
У меня́ тепе́рь	исто́рия.	I have history now.
В кино́ <u>идёт</u>	румы́нский фи́льм.	There's a Rumanian film showing at the movies.
У теб́я	мо́й портфе́ль?	Do you have my portfolio?
<u>Заходи́те</u>	вы́.	You come in.

In inverted order within the predicate, the complements usually precede the verb. Inverted order occurs primarily in equational sentences (sentences containing the verb *быть* or some other verb indicating equivalence) when the subject is indefinite.

Compare:

Inverted order: На столé нóж. There's *a* knife on the table.
 Direct order: Нóж на столé. The knife's on the table.

4) Word order in clauses containing question-words. When a clause contains a question-word (the clause may be either an independent question sentence or a subordinate clause), it is normally initiated by the question-word. If the subject is a pronoun, these clauses have direct order:

(a) Question-word is part of predicate

<i>Question-word</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Predicate</i>	
Кудá	вы	<u>éдете?</u>	Where are you going?
Чтó	вы	<u>дéлали</u> всё ўтро?	What have you been doing all morning?

(b) Question-word is subject

<i>Question-word</i>	(= Subject)	<i>Predicate</i>	
Ктó		егó <u>вiдeл?</u>	Who saw him?
Ктó		недáвно <u>бóлeл?</u>	Who was sick not long ago?
Чтó		<u>было</u> в корóбке?	What was in the box?
Ктó		у вáс учiтель?	Who is your teacher?

(c) If the subject is a noun, particularly a long one, we are likely to have transposition of verb and subject.

<i>Question-word</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Rest of predicate</i>	
Кáк	прошёл	урóк	сeгóдня?	How did the lesson go today?
Гдé	былá	мóя кнiгa?		Where was my book?

(d) In a question containing *ли*, the word to which *ли* is appended (usually the verb) functions as a question-word and hence takes initial position.

Word with <i>ли</i>	Subject	Rest of predicate
Рабо́тает ли	о́н	на фа́брике? Does he work at the factory?

(e) For purposes of emphasis, elements of the clause may be shifted to a position before the question-word.

А вы́ куда́?	And where are <i>you</i> going?
А э́то что́?	And this—what is it?

(5) *Introducers.* Certain conjunctions (*а, и, но́, е́сли, что*) serve as clause introducers and precede all other elements of the clause, so that the clause order consists of introducer plus the remainder of the clause in its appropriate order (direct, inverted, etc.).

Examples:

Direct order

А	вы спра́шивали в ма- гази́не на углу́?	And you asked at the store on the corner?
Но́	мы ожида́ем много́ успе́хов.	But we expect a lot of success.
И	отли́чно игра́л.	And he played excellently.
А	тепе́рь вы здоро́вы?	And you're all right now?
Но́	ты куда́-то собира́ешься идти́?	But are you planning to go somewhere?
А	вы то́же рабо́таете на заво́де?	And do you work at the plant too?

Inverted order

Но́	на э́тот ра́з бу́дет фи́льм.	But this time there will be a film.
Но́	мне́ всё та́ки нужна́ но́вая маши́нка.	But I need a new typewriter anyhow.
А	но́вую карти́ну смотре́л?	And did you see the new picture?

Question-word direct order

А	где́ вы́ доста́ли матер- иа́л?	And where did you get the material?
А	по ка́ким дня́м она́ рабо́тает у́тром?	And on what days does she work in the morning?

Question-word inverted order

Нó | кáк прошёл урóк?

But how did the lesson go?

3.7 EXCURSUS ON GOVERNMENT BY PREPOSITIONS

A prepositional phrase (PN) is headed by a preposition, which in turn is accompanied by a noun phrase. Each preposition requires that the accompanying noun phrase be in a specific case or cases. This case requirement is called government. Examples illustrating government of the principal prepositions follow:

1) Genitive (the largest number of prepositions governs the genitive):

без(о)	without
вóзле	beside, next to
до	to, up to, (<i>literally</i> , up to, but not into)
от(о)	from, away from (<i>literally</i> , from a point or from the exterior of an object or enclosure)
у	at, near, by, at a person's (cf. Fr. <i>chez</i>)
из(о)	out of, out from
из-за	from behind, because of
для	for
вне	outside of
крóме	except
прóтив	against, opposite
сверх	above, over
вмéсто	instead of
ра́ди	for the sake of, because of

Many adverbs, adverbial expressions, and petrified prepositional phrases may also be used governing the genitive case:

вну́три	inside
о́коло	around (near)
вóкруг, кругóм	around
вдóль	along
позади́	behind
насчёт	about

2) Genitive, Accusative, and Instrumental:

с(о)	with genitive	off of, (down) from
	with accusative (rarely)	about (in time or size)
	with instrumental	with

3) Dative

к toward, to (to a point or to a location right by an ob-
ject or enclosure; or to a person)
вопреки in spite of, against

4) Dative, Accusative, and Prepositional:

по	with dative	on, over, according to
	with accusative	up to, (with numbers) apiece, each
	with prepositional	after

5) Accusative:

про	about, concerning
сквозь	through
через	over, across, through, via

6) Accusative and Instrumental:

	<i>with accusative (goal)</i>	<i>with instrumental (location)</i>
за	to behind, for	behind, for
под(о)	to under	under

7) Accusative and Prepositional:

	<i>with accusative (goal)</i>	<i>with prepositional (location)</i>
в(о)	into, to	in, at
на	onto, to	on, at
о,об(о)	against, on	about

8) Instrumental:

над(о)	above
перед(о)	in front of
между	between, among
при	near, at

Note that (о) after a preposition indicates that that preposition has a variant with final *о* which occurs before items beginning with certain consonant clusters.

NOTES

1. Note that structurally an N consisting of noun plus A, D, PN, N_{gen} or N in apposition as modifiers is usually a transform of an equational sentence (see 3.2.2.1) in which the noun is subject and the modifier complement. Thus:

свободные сту́лья	←	Сту́лья свободные.
free chairs		The chairs are free.

собрáние вчeрá вeчeром ← Собрáние бьeло вчeрá вeчeром.
the meeting last night The meeting was last night.

музéй в Москвe ← Музéй в Москвe.
the museum in Moscow The museum is in Moscow.

дóм нáшего oтцá ← (Этoт) дóм нáшего oтцá.
our father's house This house is our father's.

студéнткa зaбóчницa ← (Этa) студéнткa зaбóчницa.
correspondence student This student is a correspondence student.

With other modifiers the transformational history is more complex. When the modifier is N_{inst} , the head is usually a nominalization of a verb and the modifier an instrumental of means.

пoeздкa aвтомобíлем ← Пoeхaли aвтомобíлем.
the car ride (We) travelled by car.

When the modifier is a subordinate clause, it is usually a transform of a sentence in which the head occupied the function of the relative word in the clause.

мeстo, гдe oнi живyт ← Oнi живyт в мeстe.
the place where they live They live in the place.

челoвeк, o кoтopом мы гoвopили ← Мы гoвopили o чeлoвeкe.
the man of whom we spoke We spoke about the man.

2. The presence of the reflexive particle *ся* excludes a direct object.

3. The following conditions appear to favor occurrences of N_{acc} , rather than N_{gen} as the direct object of a negated verb:

- (a) if the N head is a singular женá-type noun
- (b) if the verb is imperative
- (c) if the verb is perfective
- (d) if the object precedes the verb
- (e) if the verb is любить

If more than one of these conditions are met, the probability of accusative rather than genitive is correspondingly greater. Cf. T. F. Magner, "Negation and Case Selection in Russian," *Word* 11:531-41 (1955).

Я Ирy давнó не видáл! I haven't seen Irene for a long time!

4. Stated in a more structural way, when we have pairs of sentences following the patterns $V N_{acc}$: $V N_{gen}$, we may assume that the second sentence of the pair is the product of a transformation which zeroed some quantifier (such as *немнóго*, *нeскóлько*, etc., or expression of measure). The next examples then result from:

Я куплю (нeскóлько) мáрок и кoнвeр- I will buy (several) stamps and
тов. envelopes.
Дáйте мнe (нeмнóго) винá. Give me (some) wine.

5. The fact which structurally establishes that these N are modifiers, not objects, is that they occur with verbs which do not otherwise take objects in these cases, e.g., N_{acc} with reflexive or intransitive verbs.

6. The structural distinction between N_{inst} as object, agent, and means is as follows:

(a) The instrumental object becomes subject when the sentence is transformed from active to passive:

Дирéктор руковóдит фáбрикoй. The director directs the factory.
Фáбрикa руковóдится дирéктoром. The factory is directed by the director.

(b) The instrumental of means remains unchanged when a passive transformation is effected:

Ры́бы лóвятся у́дочкой.	Fish are caught with a fishing rod.
Письмо́ пишется карандашóм.	The letter is written with a pencil.

(e) The instrumental of agent appears only in passive or reflexive sentencees and becomes subject when the sentencee is transformed to an active or non-reflexive one.

Ученики́ пишут сочи́нения.	The students are writing compositions.
Сне́г покры́л до́м.	The snow covered the house.

7. Forms such as *хóлодно* and *жа́рко* in the example sentences are established as D rather than, say, as neuter short form adjectives by the fact that in a few cases where the adverb differs in stress from the corresponding neuter short adjective, the form with adverb stress appears in the impersonal sentence. Compare adj. *све́тло* 'bright', adv. *светло́* 'bright(ly)', and the sentences: *У́же све́тло́.* 'It's light already.', *Мне́ све́тло́.* 'It's light enough for me.'

8. However, alternative questions not infrequently show inverted rather than direct word order (see 3.6). Statements regarding intonation contours are not exhaustive and may be supplemented by reading R. L. Leed, "A Contrastive Analysis of Russian and English Intonation Contours," *SEELJ* 9:62-75 (1965) or E. A. Bryzgunova, *Практическая фонетика и интонация русского языка*, part III, Moscow: University, 1963.

9. Stated structurally, when the noun phrase is in the nominative or accusative case, the numeral functions as head of the noun phrase, accompanied by *N_{gen}* as attribute; when the phrase is in some other case, the numeral is the attribute and the accompanying noun, the head. The numeral as attribute, which agrees casewise with its head like the adjective, normally precedes its head, as does the adjective. The foregoing applies of course also to collective numerals (3.5.2).